JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

RALPH MARCUS, Ph D
JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION, AND COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IN NINE VOLUMES

VI

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS IX–XI

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PREFATORY NOTE

In this volume, with Book XI, we reach the second half of *Antiquities* which, as Dr. Thackeray stated in the Introduction to Volume IV, was anciently bisected (or divided into pentads) in the MSS The authorities on which the text of *Ant* xi -xx. is based are as follows.

P Codex Palatinus bibl Vat nr 14, cent ix or x , it contains *Ant* xi -xvii and *Vita*

F Codex Laurentianus plut 69, cod 20, cent xiv , it contains *Ant* i -xv (cited as L in the first half of *Ant*).

L Codex Leidensis F 13, cent. xi or xii , it contains *Ant* xi.-xv

A Codex bibl Ambrosianae F 128, cent. xi ; it contains *Ant* xi -xx and *Vita* (with lacunae).

M Codex Medicaeus bibl. Laurentianae plut 69, cod. 10, cent xv , it contains *Ant.* i -xx. and *Vita* (the text of *Ant* i.-x , dating from cent xiv, was not used by Niese)

V Codex Vaticanus gr nr 147, cent. xiv ; it contains *Ant* iii.-xv. (originally i.-xv. ; there are also lacunae in xiii -xv.).

W Codex Vaticanus gr. nr 984, dated 1354 A D ; it contains *Ant* xi -xx. (also *B J* and an epitome of *Ant.* i.-x.)

E Epitome (see Introduction to Volume IV).
Lat Latin version (see Introduction to Volume IV).
Zon Zonaras's Chronicle (see Introduction to Volume IV).
Exc Excerpta Peiresciana et Ursiniana (see Introduction to Volume IV).

The Greek MSS. may be grouped into two families: one is made up of PFV, the other of AMW; L agrees now with one group, now with the other. As in the case of the MSS. of *Ant.* i.-x., so here the two modern editors, Niese and Naber, differ concerning the relative merits of P and A, the two best representatives of each group, Niese preferring P to A (except where P agrees with AMW against FV), and Naber preferring A to P. But here, as in *Ant.* i.-x., the Loeb text is based upon a careful and independent study of the MS. evidence, with the result that it does not agree entirely with either Niese's or Naber's. On occasion a reading has been taken from the Latin or the Epitome or the *editio princeps*; or an emendation has been adopted (my own are very few). It may be noted that Niese has discovered a subdivision in the group AMW; in *Ant.* xi.-xv. he finds two sub-groups, A^1W and A corr. M; in *Ant.* xvi.-xx. he finds three sub-groups, A^1 and MW and A corr.

The present volume completes Josephus's paraphrase of Scripture (in its Greek version), and relates the history of the Jews under the later kings of Israel and Judah, during the exile and under the kings of Persia. The post-biblical sources for the end of the period of Persian rule are briefly dealt with in Appendices B and C. A comprehensive discussion of Josephus's

sources for the history of the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman period will be found in an appendix to the last volume of this series.

In concluding this prefatory note I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mrs. Thackeray who has generously permitted me to make continued use of her husband's rough draft of a translation of the later books of *Antiquities*. In several passages I have adopted a felicitous rendering made by Dr. Thackeray, and while the responsibility for the present translation is mine alone, and its shortcomings chargeable solely to me, I cannot refrain from again acknowledging my debt to Dr. Thackeray's previous labours on Josephus.

It is a matter of regret to me that the editors of the Loeb Classical Library will not permit me to thank them adequately for their careful and helpful criticism of my manuscript. I make this brief acknowledgement in the hope that it will not be deleted as was a similar one originally appearing in the Preface to Volume V.

RALPH MARCUS

April 15, 1937

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VI

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE EXPLANATORY NOTES AND APPENDICES

ABAW = *Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

Albright = Albright, W. F., various articles in *BASOR*.

AP = *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* ed R Charles 2 vols 1913

A V = Authorized Version of Scripture

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*

Chamonard = Chamonard, J , translator of *Ant* xi.-xv. in *Œuvres Complètes de Flavius Josèphe* ed. T Reinach, vol iii , 1904

GGMS = Niese, B , *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* 3 vols 1893-1899

Ginzberg = Ginzberg, L , *Legends of the Jews.* 6 vols. 1913-1928

HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual.*

Hudson = Hudson, J., translator of Josephus in *Fl. Josephi Opera Omnia* ed. Hudson-Havercamp 2 vols 1726

JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

Luc = Lucianic recension of Septuagint

PEF = *Palestine Exploration Fund*

Rappaport = Rappaport, S., *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus.* 1930.

Reinach = Reinach, T , editor of *Œuvres Complètes de Flavius Josèphe*

RB = *Revue Biblique*

REJ = *Revue des Études Juives*

Weill = Weill, J., translator of *Ant* i -x in *Œuvres Complètes etc.*, vol. i.. 1900, vol ii , 1926.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

ΙΟΥΔΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Θ

(i. 1) Ἰωσαφάτῳ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παραγενομένῳ
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς
Ἄχαβον τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα, ἣν Ἀδάδῳ[1]
τῷ Σύρων βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντι παρασχὼν ἦν ὡς
προειρήκαμεν, Ἰηοῦς ὁ προφήτης συντυχὼν ᾐτιᾶτο
τῆς πρὸς Ἄχαβον συμμαχίας ἄνθρωπον ἀσεβῆ καὶ
πονηρόν· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν ἀηδῶς μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δια-
τεθῆναι, ῥύσασθαι μέντοι καίπερ ἡμαρτηκότα διὰ
τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν οὖσαν ἀγαθήν, ἔλεγεν, ἐκ
2 τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐπ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ
θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ· μετὰ ταῦτα
δὲ τὴν χώραν ὥρμησεν περιερχόμενος ἐν κύκλῳ
πᾶσαν ὅσης αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχε[2] τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τά
τε νόμιμα τὰ διὰ Μωυσέος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθέντα
3 καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ δικαστὰς
ἀποδείξας ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῶν βασιλευομένων ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ παρεκελεύσατο μηδενὸς οὕτως ὡς τοῦ δικαίου
προνοουμένους κρίνειν τοῖς ὄχλοις μήτε δώρων

[1] ex Lat edd ῎Αδερι, Ἀδδέρει codd. hic et infra
[2] ὑπῆρχε MS: ὑπῆρχε κύριος RO. ἦρχε ed pr.

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[a] Bibl. Ben-hadad, *cf* *Ant.* viii. 363 note
[b] *Ant.* viii. 400 ff.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOK IX

(i. 1) Now when King Josaphat returned to Jerusalem after having made an alliance with Achab, the king of the Israelites, and furnished him help in the war with Adados,[a] the Syrian king, as we have previously related,[b] the prophet Jeūs [c] met him and found fault with him for making an alliance with an impious and wicked man like Achab For, he said, God was displeased at this act but would, nevertheless, despite his having sinned, deliver him from his enemies because of his own good character.[d] And thereupon the king betook himself to giving thanks and offering sacrifices to God [e] And after this he set out to make a circuit of all the country which he governed,[f] to teach the people thoroughly both the laws given by God through Moses and the piety to be shown Him And, after appointing judges in each city of the territory ruled by him, he urged them not to take thought for anything so much as for justice in judging the multitude, without regard to gifts or the rank of those

Jehoshaphat's reforms 2 Chron xix 1

[c] Bibl. Jehu, *cf. Ant.* viii 299 note.

[d] Bibl. "in that thou hast taken away the groves (*'ashērôth*) from the land and hast prepared thine heart to seek God."

[e] This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

[f] Scripture specifies "from Beer-sheba to mount Ephraim"

μήτε ἀξιώματος τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ διὰ γένος εἶναι δοκούντων, βραβεύειν δὲ ἅπασι τὸ ἴσον, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι καὶ τῶν κρύφα πραττομένων
4 ἕκαστον ὁ θεὸς βλέπει ταῦτα διδάξας κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην τῶν δύο φυλῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατέστησε δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κριτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ πλήθους φερομένων, παραινέσας ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ
5 δικαίας ποιεῖσθαι πάσας τὰς κρίσεις· ἂν δὲ περὶ μειζόνων διαφορὰν ἔχοντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς πέμψωσι πόλεων, τούτοις δὲ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δικαίως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων· μάλιστα γὰρ τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει κρίσεις, ἐν ᾗ τόν τε ναὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ συμβέβηκε καὶ δίαιταν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχει, προσῆκε[1]
6 σπουδαίας εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας ἄρχοντας δ' αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἀμασίαν[2] τὸν ἱερέα καὶ Ζαβαδίαν, ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἑκατέρους καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διέτασσε τὰ πράγματα.
7 (2) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτὸν Μωαβῖται καὶ Ἀμμανῖται, συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ Ἀράβων μεγάλην μοῖραν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύονται πρὸς Ἐγγάδῃ[3] πόλει κειμένῃ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσφαλτιτίδι λίμνῃ τριακοσίους ἀπεχούσῃ σταδίους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων· γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνιξ ὁ

[1] προσήκει MSP. προσήκειν Lat (vid.).
[2] Ἀμαρίαν ex LXX conj. Hudson
[3] Niese: Ἔπαδαι RO Ἐγαδαΐ MS Ἰτάδα P Gaddi Lat : Ἐγγαδδὶ Naber cum Hudson

[a] The reference to the importance of Jerusalem is an unscriptural detail
[b] Bibl. Amariah (*'Amaryāhû*), LXX Ἀμαρίας

who were held to be superior by reason of wealth or birth; but to deal equal justice to all in the knowledge that God sees everything that is done even in secret. After giving these instructions in every city of the two tribes, he returned to Jerusalem, in which place also he appointed judges from among the priests and Levites and those holding the chief places among the people, and exhorted them to decide all cases with care and justice; and if any of their fellow-citizens, having differences about matters of great importance, should send to them from other cities, they were to take very great pains to render them a just decision concerning these matters, for it was proper that in the city in which was the temple of God and where the king had his residence, judgement should be given with special care and with the utmost justice.[a] Then as their officers he appointed Amasias,[b] the priest, and Zabadias,[c] both from the tribe of Judah.[d] In this fashion, then, did the king order affairs

(2) At this same time there marched against him the Moabites and Ammanites, who had taken along a large division of Arabs,[e] and they encamped at Engadē,[f] a city situated on Lake Asphaltis, three hundred stades distant from Jerusalem In this city

Jehoshaphat prepares for war against Moabites, etc

2 Chron xx 1

[c] Bibl Zebadiah (*Zᵉbadyāhû*), LXX Ζαβδείας

[d] According to Scripture, only Zebadiah was of the tribe of Judah. Amariah was presumably of the tribe of Levi.

[e] Heb "(others) of the Ammonites," LXX ἐκ τῶν Μειναίων, Luc τῶν υἱῶν Σηείρ. The following verses in Scripture (*cf* vs. 10) show that the Edomites (=*Seir* in Luc) are meant. Jewish commentators suggest that the second occurrence of "Ammonites" here is a transposition of "Maonites," who are mentioned together with Arabs in 2 Chron xxvi. 7.

[f] Emended text, bibl. En-gedi, *cf. Ant.* vi 282 note.

8 κάλλιστος καὶ ὀποβάλσαμον. ἀκούσας δ' Ἰωσά-
φατος ὅτι τὴν λίμνην διαβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμ-
βεβλήκασιν ἤδη εἰς τὴν βασιλευομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
χώραν, δείσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνάγει τὸν δῆμον τῶν
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ στὰς κατὰ
πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ ηὔχετο καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὸν
θεὸν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ ἰσχύν, ὥστε
9 τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας καὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο δεηθῆναι τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευασαμένους
αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ὑπερμάχηται τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ
τοὺς ἐπ' σὐτὸ τολμήσαντας ἐλθεῖν ἀμύνηται, οἳ τὴν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθεῖσαν γῆν εἰς κατοίκησιν[1] ἀφελέσθαι
πάρεισιν αὐτούς. ταῦτ' εὐχόμενος ἐδάκρυε καὶ
σύμπαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις
0 ἱκέτευεν. Ἰαζίηλος[2] δέ τις προφήτης παρελθὼν εἰς
μέσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνεβόησε, τῷ τε πλήθει λέγων
καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν θεὸν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν εὐχῶν, καὶ
πολεμήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι
προσέταξε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξελάσαντα
1 τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπαντᾶν εὑρήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
τῆς μεταξὺ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἐγγάδης ἀναβάσεως
λεγομένης δ' Ἐξοχῆς[3] καὶ μὴ συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς,
στάντας δὲ μόνον ὁρᾶν πῶς αὐτοῖς μάχεται τὸ θεῖον.

[1] *κατάσχεσιν* MSP.

[2] *ἱκέτευεν* Ἰαζίηλος ed pr. · *ἱκέτευεν ἰναζίηλος* MSPE. *ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν ἵνα ὑπερμαχήσῃ αὐτοῖς* Ζηῖλος RO. suplicabant. quo facto quidam Iazel Lat

[3] *λεγομένης δ' Ἐξοχῆς* cod Vat ap Hudson · *λεγομένη δ' ἐξοχῇ* codd

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[a] The note about the trees is an addition to Scripture; *cf. Ant* viii 174 note *b*

[b] Josephus omits the proclamation of a fast (vs 3).

[c] Variant "possession."

[d] Unscriptural detail, perhaps based on the phrase (vs. 12)

are grown the finest palm-trees and opobalsamum[a] Now when Josaphat heard that the enemy had crossed the lake and had already invaded the country ruled by him, he was afraid and called together the people of Jerusalem to meet in the temple, and standing before the sanctuary he began to pray[b] and call upon God to grant him power and strength to punish those who had marched against him; for, he said, this had been the prayer of those who had built His temple, that He should protect this city and should repel those who dared to come against the temple and were now there to take away from them the land He had given them for a habitation[c] Having made this prayer, he began to weep,[d] and the entire multitude, together with their wives and children, made supplication But a certain prophet, Jaziēlos,[e] came into the midst of the assembly and, addressing both the people and the king, cried out that God had hearkened to their prayers and promised that He would fight against their foes The prophet also instructed him to lead out his army on the morrow to meet the enemy, saying that he would find them on the ascent between Jerusalem and Engadē, called Prominence (*Exochē*)[f], they were not, he added, to engage the enemy, but only to stand still[g] and see how the Deity would fight

" our eyes are upon thee," as if it meant " we implore Thee with tears "

[e] Bibl Jahaziel (*Yahazî'ēl*), LXX 'Οζειήλ, Luc. 'Ιεζιήλ Scripture adds that he was a Levite

[f] Bibl " they shall come up by the ascent (A V " cliff ") of Ziz (*Sîs*, LXX 'Ασᾶε, *v l* 'Ασσίς) and you shall find them at the end of the brook before the wilderness of Jeruel " Josephus's ἐξοχή is apparently derived from Luc 's rendering of " ascent "

[g] So Heb. and Luc. (στῆτε); LXX has σύνετε " look on "

τοῦ δὲ προφήτου ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πεσόντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ηὐχαρίστουν τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ προσεκύνουν, οἱ δὲ Ληουῖται τοῖς ὀργάνοις διετέλουν ὑμνοῦντες.

12 (3) Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ προελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ὑποκάτω Θεκώας πόλεως ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρημένοις καὶ μὴ παρατάσσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην, προστησαμένους δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν σαλπίγγων καὶ Ληουίτας μετὰ τῶν ὑμνούντων[1] εὐχαριστεῖν ὡς ἤδη ῥυσαμένῳ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν
13 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ἤρεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμη, καὶ ἅπερ συνεβούλευσε ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἰς φόβον ἐνέβαλε καὶ ταραχὴν τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας· οἱ δὲ δόξαντες ἀλλήλους πολεμίους ἀπέκτεινον, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς ἀνα-
14 σωθῆναι μηδένα. Ἰωσάφατος δὲ ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὴν φάραγγα, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινεν ἐστρατοπεδευκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πλήρη νεκρῶν ἰδών, ἥσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, ὅτι μηδὲ πονήσασιν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἔδωκεν, ἐπέτρεψε δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάσαι τὴν παρεμβολὴν
15 τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ σκυλεῦσαι τοὺς νεκρούς καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας σκυλεύοντες ἔκαμον τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων πλῆθος· τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ συναθροισθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἴς τινα κοῖλον καὶ φαραγγώδη τόπον, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν εὐλόγησαν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ὁ τόπος κοιλὰς εὐλογίας

[1] Ληουίτας μετὰ τῶν ὑμνούντων] Ληουίτων RO.

[a] Bibl. " with a loud voice (or " sound ") on high "

against them When the prophet had said these things, the king and the multitude, falling upon their faces, gave thanks to God and did obeisance to Him, while the Levites continued praising God with their instruments [a]

(3) As soon as it was day the king went out into the wilderness below the city of Thekoa [b] and told the people that they must have faith in what the prophet had said, and not draw themselves up for battle, but place at their head the priests with their trumpets and the Levites with the singers, and give thanks to God as if He had already delivered our country from the enemy The king's plan met with their approval, and they did just as he had counselled them Then God sent fear and confusion into the midst of the Ammanites, and they, mistaking one another for the enemy, killed (their own men), so that out of so great an army not one escaped alive And when Josaphat looked out over the valley in which the enemy had encamped and saw it full of corpses, he rejoiced at the wonderful way in which God had helped (his side) and that, with no effort on their part, He had by Himself given them the victory; then he gave his army leave to plunder the camp of the enemy and strip the dead bodies And so for three days they stripped them until they were weary, so great was the number of the slain But on the fourth day all the people were gathered in a certain hollow place like a valley, and blessed the power of God and His assistance, from which circumstance the place received the name of "Valley of Blessing" [c]

Jehoshaphat's victory over the Ammonites 2 Chron xx 20

[b] Bibl Tekoah (*T^eqô'a*), LXX Θεκῶε, *cf Ant* VIII 246.
[c] Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render Heb. *b^erakah* "blessing."

16 (4) Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ βασι-
λεὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τρέπεται πρὸς εὐωχίας καὶ
θυσίας ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας μετὰ μέντοι γε τὴν
τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ διαφθορὰν ἀκουσθεῖσαν τοῖς
ἀλλοφύλοις ἔθνεσι πάντες οὗτοι κατεπλάγησαν
αὐτόν, ὡς φανερῶς αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν συμ-
μαχοῦντος καὶ Ἰωσάφατος μὲν ἔκτοτε μετὰ
λαμπρᾶς δόξης ἐπί τε δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ
17 θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ διῆγεν· ἦν δὲ φίλος καὶ τῷ τοῦ
Ἀχάβου παιδὶ βασιλεύοντι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, πρὸς
ὃν κοινωνήσας ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ νεῶν[1] εἴς τε Πόντον
πλεουσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐμπόρια διήμαρτε
τοῦ κτήματος ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγέθους ἀπώλετο τὰ
σκάφη· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι περὶ ναῦς ἐφιλοτι-
μήσατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων βασι-
λέα Ἰωσάφατον οὕτως εἶχεν
18 (ii. 1) Ὁ δ' Ἀχάβου παῖς Ὀχοζίας ἐβασίλευε
τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ποιούμενος τὴν
δίαιταν, πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς γονεῦσιν
ἀμφοτέροις καὶ Ἱεροβοάμῳ τῷ πρώτῳ παρανομή-
19 σαντι καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀπατᾶν ἀρξαμένῳ. τὴν δὲ
βασιλείαν ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἔχοντος ὁ τῶν Μωα-
βιτῶν ἀφίσταται βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς φόρους,
οὓς ἔμπροσθεν ἐτέλει τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀχάβῳ,
χορηγῶν ἐπαύσατο. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Ὀχοζίαν κατα-

[1] Niese· νηῶν codd

[a] Ahaziah, see below, § 18

[b] 2 Chron "to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber", 1 Kings xxii. 48 "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not, for they were wrecked at Ezion-geber." Possibly Josephus connects (or confuses) Tarshish with bibl. Tiras (Gen. x 2), which in *Ant.* i. 127 is identified with

(4) From there the king led his army back to Jerusalem, where he gave himself up to feasting and offering sacrifice for many days Moreover, when the news of his destruction of the enemy came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were struck with terror of him, as though it were clear that God would henceforth fight on his side And so from that time on Josaphat enjoyed splendid fame because of his righteousness and his piety toward the Deity. And he was also friendly with Achab's son,[a] who ruled over the Israelites, and joined with him in building ships to sail to Pontus and the trading-stations of Thrace,[b] but he suffered the loss of his property, for the vessels were destroyed because of their great size, and for this reason he was no longer keen about ships[c] Such, then, was the state of affairs under Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem

Jehoshaphat's fame, his alliance with Ahab
2 Chron xx 27

(ii 1) Now Achab's son Ochozias[d] reigned over the Israelites, having his residence in Samaria; he was a wicked man and in all respects like both his parents and like Jeroboam, who was the first to transgress the laws and who began the leading astray of the people But after he had been reigning for two years,[e] the king of the Moabites revolted from him and ceased to pay the tribute which he had formerly been paying to his father Achab Now it happened

Ahab's son Ahaziah (Ochozias) and Elijah
1 Kings xxii 51 (LXX Heb. 52)
2 Kings i 1

Thrace, while in the same passage Tarshish is identified with Tarsus in Cilicia, as also in *Ant* ix. 208.

[c] According to Scripture (2 Chron.), Jehoshaphat's ships were wrecked by God as a punishment for his alliance with Ahaziah.

[d] Bibl. Ahaziah, *cf. Ant* viii. 420 note.

[e] Scripture does not indicate in what year of Ahaziah's reign (which lasted only two years) the Moabites revolted It dates the revolt "after the death of Ahab," presumably at the beginning of Ahaziah's reign

βαίνοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους τῆς οἰκίας κατενεχθῆναι
καὶ νοσήσαντα πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν[1] Ἀκκάρων θεὸν
Μυῖαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ[2] θεῷ, πυνθάνεσθαι
20 περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. φανεὶς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων
θεὸς Ἠλίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῖς
πεμφθεῖσιν ἀγγέλοις ὑπαντήσαντι πυνθάνεσθαι αὐ-
τῶν εἰ θεὸν ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς ἴδιον οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι
πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀλλότριον ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν περὶ
τῆς σωτηρίας ἐρησομένους, κελεῦσαί τε αὐτοὺς
ὑποστρέψαι καὶ φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι μὴ δια-
21 φεύξεται τὴν νόσον τοῦ δὲ Ἠλία ποιήσαντος ἃ
προσέταξεν ὁ θεός, ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ παρ'
αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.
θαυμάζοντος δὲ τὸ τάχος τῆς ἐπανόδου καὶ τὴν
αἰτίαν ἐπερωτήσαντος ἔφασαν ἀπαντῆσαί τινα
αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον καὶ κωλῦσαι μὲν προσωτέρω
χωρεῖν, "ἀναστρέψαντας δέ σοι λέγειν ἐξ ἐντολῆς
τοῦ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεοῦ, ὅτι κάκιον ἕξει ἡ νόσος"
22 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ τὸν ταῦτ' εἰρηκότα
κελεύσαντος, ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγον δασὺν καὶ ζώνην
περιειλημμένον δερματίνην. συνεὶς δὲ ἐκ τούτων
Ἠλίαν εἶναι τὸν σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων
πέμψας ἐπ'[3] αὐτὸν ταξίαρχον καὶ πεντήκοντα
23 ὁπλίτας ἀχθῆναι αὐτὸν[4] ἐκέλευσεν. εὑρὼν δὲ τὸν
Ἠλίαν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ταξίαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ

[1] M Lat · τὴν rell. [2] M Lat . τῇ rell
[3] πρὸς ROE. [4] πρὸς αὐτὸν (αὐτὸν P^2) MSP.

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[a] Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render the latter part of the Heb. Baal-Zebub, traditionally supposed to mean "Fly-God"

that Ochozias, while descending from the roof of his house, fell down, and, becoming ill, sent to the Fly-God (*Muia*) [a] of Akkarōn [b]—this was the god's name—to inquire about his chances of recovery. But the God of the Hebrews appeared to the prophet Elijah [c] and bade him go to meet the messengers sent (by the king) and inquire of them whether the people of Israel did not have their own God, that their king sent to this foreign god to ask about his chances of recovery; and to command them to return and tell the king that he would not recover from his illness. So Elijah did as God had ordered, and, when the messengers heard his words, they at once returned to the king. And he wondered at the speediness of their return, and, when he inquired the reason, they told him that a certain man had met them and prevented them from going farther, bidding them "return and tell you by the command of the God of Israel that your illness will grow worse." [d] Then, when the king bade them describe to him the man who had said this, they told him it was a hairy man girt with a girdle of leather. From these words the king understood that the man described by the messengers was Elijah, and sent an officer after him with fifty soldiers, ordering that he be brought to him. And, when the officer who had been sent found Elijah sitting on the top of a hill, he ordered him to

[b] Bibl. Ekron, *cf. Ant.* v. 87.

[c] According to Scripture, it was an angel of the Lord who spoke to Elijah. Josephus generally avoids mentioning angels as intermediaries between God and the prophets; *cf.* A. Schlatter, "Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus" (*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, 2. Reihe, 26 Band), 1932, pp. 55 ff.

[d] Bibl. "thou shalt surely die."

ὄρους καθεζόμενον, καταβάντα ἥκειν ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· κελεύειν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνον· εἰ δὲ μὴ θελήσειεν, ἄκοντα βιάσεσθαι.[1] ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ προφήτης ἀληθὴς ὑπάρχειν εὔξεσθαι[2] πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πεσὸν ἀπολέσαι τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ αὐτόν, εὔχεται, καὶ πρηστὴρ κατενεχθεὶς διαφθείρει τόν τε ταξίαρχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν
24 αὐτῷ. τῆς δὲ ἀπωλείας τῆς τούτων δηλωθείσης τῷ βασιλεῖ παροξυνθεὶς ἄλλον πέμπει ταξίαρχον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἠλίαν σὺν ὁπλίταις τοσούτοις, ὅσοις καὶ τὸν πρότερον συναπέστειλεν. ἀπειλήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τῷ προφήτῃ βίᾳ λαβόντα ἄξειν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ κατέλθοι βουλόμενος, εὐξαμένου κατ' αὐτοῦ[3] πῦρ διεχρήσατο καθὼς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταξίαρχον.
25 πυνθανόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς τρίτον ἐξέπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος ὢν καὶ λίαν ἐπιεικὴς τὸ ἦθος, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Ἠλίαν, φιλοφρόνως προσεῖπεν αὐτόν· γινώσκειν δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ βουλόμενος βασιλικῷ δὲ[4] διακονῶν προστάγματι παρείη πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες οὐχ ἑκόντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἦλθον· ἐλεῆσαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν ἠξίου τούς τε σὺν αὐτῷ παρόντας ὁπλίτας, καὶ καταβάντα ἕπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.
26 ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν δεξιότητα τῶν λόγων καὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον τοῦ ἤθους ὁ Ἠλίας καταβὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλεα προεφή-

[1] Dindorf: βιάσασθαι codd. E
[2] Dindorf: εὔξασθαι codd. E
[3] κατ' αὐτοῦ] καὶ τοῦτον E
[4] δὲ add. Boysen.

[a] These threats of the king's officers are unscriptural details.

come down and go to the king, saying that he had so ordered, and, if he refused, he would force him to go against his will.[a] But Elijah said to him that to prove whether he was a true prophet he would pray for fire to fall from heaven and destroy both his soldiers and himself; and, when he prayed, a whirlwind of fire came down and consumed both the officer and those with him. When the destruction of these men was reported to the king, he became very angry and sent against Elijah another officer with the same number of soldiers as he had sent with the first one. And when this one also threatened the prophet that he would seize him by force and take him away if he did not come down willingly,[a] Elijah prayed against him, and a fire destroyed him as it had the officer before him. When the king learned also of this man's fate, he sent out a third, but he, being a prudent man and of a very mild disposition,[b] when he came to the place where Elijah was, addressed him in a friendly way; he said that Elijah knew that it was not of his own will but in obedience to the king's command that he had come to him, and that those who had been sent before him had come not willingly but for this same reason.[c] He begged him, therefore, to have pity on him and on the soldiers who were with him, and to come down and accompany him to the king. So Elijah, approving of his words and the courtesy of his manner, came down[d] and followed him; and, when he came before the king,

[b] This characterization is an addition to Scripture.

[c] The officer's explanation of his predecessors' motives is unscriptural.

[d] Josephus omits the scriptural reference to the angel of the Lord who instructed Elijah to accompany the officer; *cf.* note on § 20 above.

τευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου λέγειν· " ἐπειδὴ κατέγνως μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς νόσου οὐ τἀληθὲς προειπεῖν δυναμένου, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀκκαρωνιτῶν ἔπεμπες, παρ' αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος ποταπὸν[1] ἔσται σοι τῆς νόσου τέλος, γίνωσκε ὅτι τεθνήξῃ."

27 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀλίγου σφόδρα χρόνου διελθόντος, *καθὼς προεῖπεν Ἠλίας, ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώραμος· ἄπαις γὰρ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ὁ δὲ Ἰώραμος οὗτος τῷ πατρὶ Ἀχάβῳ τὴν πονηρίαν παραπλήσιος γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα, πάσῃ παρανομίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ πρὸς τὸν θεόν παρεὶς γὰρ τοῦτον θρησκεύειν, τοὺς ξενικοὺς ἐσέβετο· ἦν δὲ*

28 *τἆλλα δραστήριος. κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἠλίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω μέχρι τῆς σήμερον αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτήν μαθητὴν δὲ Ἐλισσαῖον κατέλιπεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐδηλώσαμεν περὶ μέντοι γε Ἠλία καὶ Ἐνώχου τοῦ γενομένου πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βίβλοις ὅτι γεγόνασιν ἀφανεῖς, θάνατον δ' αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν*

29 (III 1) Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰώραμος *ἐπὶ τὸν* Μωαβιτῶν *ἔγνω στρατεύειν βασιλέα* Μεισὰν[2] *ὄνομα τοῦ γὰρ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς προείπαμεν, ἔτυχεν ἀποστάς, φόρους τελῶν* Ἀχάβῳ *τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ μυριάδας εἴκοσι προβάτων σὺν τοῖς*

[1] E · ποδαπὸν codd. [2] Μισᾶν MSP Misa Lat

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[a] Gr Jōramos, bibl Jehoram (*Yehôrām*), LXX Ἰωράμ In Scripture the name is sometimes found in the contracted form Joram.

[b] Scripture, however, says that he " wrought evil . . . but

he prophesied to him and revealed that God had said, "Because you have scorned me as though I were not God and were not able to foretell the truth concerning your illness, but have sent to the god of Akkarōn to inquire of him what the end of this illness will be, know that you shall die"

Jehoram (Joram) of Israel
2 Kings i 17
2 Kings iii 1
2 Kings ii 1

(2) A very short time thereafter, as Elijah had foretold, the king died and was succeeded in the kingdom by his brother Joram,[a] for he had died childless Now this Joram, who was very like his father Achab in wickedness, reigned twelve years, showing every form of lawlessness and impiety toward God, for he neglected His service and worshipped strange gods[b]; he was also a man of bold action in other respects. Now about that time Elijah disappeared from among men, and to this day no one knows his end.[c] He left behind him a disciple Elisha, as we have already related[d] However, concerning Elijah and Enoch,[e] who lived before the Flood, it is written in the sacred books that they became invisible, and no one knows of their death

Jehoram's alliance with Jehoshaphat against Moab
2 Kings iii 4

(iii. 1) When Joram took over the throne, he decided to march against the Moabite king named Meisa,[f] for, as we have said before,[g] he had revolted from Joram's brother after paying tribute to his father Achab amounting to two hundred thousand

not like his father and mother, for he removed the image of Baal that his father had made"

[c] Josephus, in accordance with his rationalizing tendency, passes over the miraculous ascension of Elijah, 2 Kings ii 1 ff.

[d] *Ant* viii 352 ff. [e] *Cf Ant.* i 79 (Gen v 24)

[f] Bibl Mesha (*Mêšaʻ*), LXX Μωσά The biblical account of Mesha has been supplemented by the famous Moabite Stone, discovered in 1868, which is written in a language almost identical with biblical Hebrew

[g] § 19.

30 πόκοις. συναθροίσας οὖν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν
ἔπεμψε[1] πρὸς Ἰωσάφατον παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ
φίλος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, συμ-
μαχῆσαι πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωαβίτας ἐκφέρειν
μέλλοντι ἀποστάντας αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. ὁ δ'
οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς βοηθήσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
Ἰδουμαίων βασιλέα συναναγκάσειν ὄντα ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν
31 συστρατεύσασθαι. Ἰώραμος δὲ τοιούτων αὐτῷ τῶν
παρὰ Ἰωσαφάτου περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας κομισθέντων
ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν ἧκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα,
καὶ ξενισθεὶς λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, δόξαν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς
Ἰδουμαίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν[2] ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους, οὐ γὰρ προσδοκήσειν αὐτοὺς ταύτῃ ποιήσε-
σθαι[3] τὴν ἔφοδον, ὥρμησαν οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἐκ τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων, ὅ τε τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν
32 Ἰσραηλιτῶν[4] καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ κυκλεύ-
σαντες[5] ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπορίαν ὕδατος τοῖς
τε κτήνεσι καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περιέστησαν πλανηθέν-
των τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἀγωνιᾶν
μὲν ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ἰώραμον καὶ
ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκβοῆσαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τί κακὸν
αἰτιασάμενος ἀγάγοι τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ
33 παραδώσων αὐτοὺς[6] τῷ Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεῖ, παρ-
εθάρρυνε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰωσάφατος δίκαιος ὢν καὶ
πέμψαντα εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσε γνῶναι εἴ

[1] + καὶ MSPE Lat
[2] ὁδοιπορίαν MSP.
[3] ταύτῃ ποιήσεσθαι Niese· ταύτην ποιήσασθαι codd
[4] τῶν Ἰσρ] τῆς Σαμαρείας MSP.
[5] κυκλώσαντες MSP
[6] παραδώσων αὐτοὺς ex cod Vat. Hudson: παραδώσοντας ἑαυτοὺς (αὐτοὺς M) ROM· παραδώσοντ' αὐτοὺς S· παραδώσον αὐτοὺς P.

sheep[a] with their wool And so, collecting his own force, he sent to Josaphat, asking him, since he had from the first been his father's friend, to be his ally in the war which he was about to wage on the Moabites who had revolted from his rule Then Josaphat not only promised himself to assist him but also to compel the Idumaean king, who was under his authority, to join in the campaign[b] And Joram, after receiving such assurances of assistance from Josaphat, took his army and came to Jerusalem and was splendidly entertained by the king of Jerusalem[c], it was then decided by them to make their advance upon the enemy through the wilderness of Idumaea, for these would not expect them to attack by this road. So the three kings set out from Jerusalem, namely the king of that city, the king of the Israelites and the king of Idumaea And, after taking a circuitous route for seven days, they found themselves without sufficient water for their beasts and soldiers, because their guides had lost the way[d], and so they were all in torment, Joram most of all, and in his distress he cried out to God, asking what bad deed He charged them with that He had led out the three kings to deliver them without a fight into the hands of the Moabite king But Josaphat, who was a righteous man, comforted him and told him to send to the camp

[a] Bibl 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams

[b] The reference to the compulsion of the Edomite king is an addition to Scripture which says merely that Jehoshaphat advised Jehoram to go through Edom and that the Edomite king accompanied them on the campaign. See also below, § 97 note

[c] Scripture does not mention the reception of Jehoram at Jerusalem.

[d] The detail about the guides is unscriptural

τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης συνελήλυθεν, “ἵνα
δι’ αὐτοῦ μάθωμεν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τί ποιητέον
ἐστὶν ἡμῖν” οἰκέτου δέ τινος τῶν Ἰωράμου
φήσαντος ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι τὸν Ἠλία μαθητὴν Ἐλισ-
σαῖον Σαφάτου παῖδα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπίασιν οἱ τρεῖς
34 βασιλεῖς Ἰωσαφάτου παραινέσαντος ἐλθόντες δ’
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ προφήτου (ἔτυχε δ’ ἔξω τῆς
παρεμβολῆς κατεσκηνωκώς) ἐπηρώτων τὸ μέλλον
ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἰώραμος τοῦ δὲ
μὴ διοχλεῖν[1] αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς βαδίζειν προφήτας,
εἶναι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀληθεῖς, ἐδεῖτο προφητεύειν καὶ
35 σώζειν αὐτούς ὁ δὲ ὀμόσας τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἂν
ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ διὰ Ἰωσάφατον ὅσιον ὄντα
καὶ δίκαιον, ἀχθέντος ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ψάλλειν
εἰδότος (ἐπεζήτησε γὰρ αὐτός) πρὸς τὸν ψαλμὸν[2]
ἔνθεος γενόμενος προσέταξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν
36 τῷ χειμάρρῳ πολλοὺς ὀρύξαι βόθρους “οὔτε γὰρ
νέφους οὔτε πνεύματος γενομένου οὔτε ὑετοῦ κατ-
αρραγέντος ὄψεσθε[3] πλήρη τὸν ποταμὸν ὕδατος,
ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια διασωθῆναι
ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτοῦ. ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ τοῦτο μόνον
παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατήσετε τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ
καλλίστας καὶ ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις λήψεσθε τῶν
Μωαβιτῶν, καὶ δένδρα μὲν αὐτῶν ἥμερα κόψετε,
τὴν δὲ χώραν δῃώσετε, πηγὰς δὲ καὶ ποταμοὺς
ἐμφράξετε.”
37 (2) Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου τῇ ἐπιούσῃ

[1] διενοχλεῖν SP
[2] ψάλλοντα MSPE Lat. fort. recte.
[3] ὄψεσθαι RSPE.

to find out whether any prophet of God had come along with them, "in order that through him we may learn from God what we must do." And, when one of Joram's servants said that he had seen there Elijah's disciple Elisha, the son of Saphatēs, the three kings, at Josaphat's urging went to him. When they came to the prophet's tent—he had, as it happened, pitched his tent outside the camp[a]—they inquired what would befall the army, Joram in particular asking this. And, when he told him not to trouble him but to go to the prophets of his father and mother, for they, he said, were true prophets, the king begged him to prophesy and save them. Then he swore before God that he would not answer him if it were not for the sake of Josaphat who was a holy and righteous man, and, when there had been brought to him a man who could play the harp—the prophet himself had asked for him—he became divinely inspired at the playing of the harp and ordered the kings to dig many pits in the bed of the stream.[b] "For," he said, "though there will be neither cloud nor wind nor downpour of rain, you shall see the stream full of water, so that both your army and your beasts of burden will be saved by drinking. Nor will this be the only thing you shall receive from God, but you shall also conquer your enemies and take the fairest and strongest cities of the Moabites, cut down their fruit-bearing trees, lay waste their country and stop up their springs and rivers."

The allied kings consult Elisha. 2 Kings iii. 11.

(2) So spoke the prophet, and, on the following day

[a] Unscriptural detail.

[b] Josephus uses the same word as the LXX to render Heb. *naḥal* (A.V. "valley"); *cf. Ant.* vi. 135 note.

πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν ὁ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐρρύη, σφοδρῶς γὰρ ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ὗσαι συνέπεσεν, ὥστε εὑρεῖν τὴν
38 στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ποτὸν ἄφθονον. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν οἱ Μωαβῖται τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ποιουμένους τὴν ἔφοδον, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν εὐθὺς συλλέξας στρατιὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων[1] βάλλεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα αὐτοὺς μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν
39 ἐμβαλόντες οἱ πολέμιοι. θεασάμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἦν τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, αἵματι τὴν χροὰν ὅμοιον, τότε γὰρ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρυθραίνεται, ψευδῆ δόξαν περὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάμβανον ὡς ἀπεκτονότων[2] ἑαυτοὺς διὰ δίψος
40 καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἷμα αὐτοῖς ῥέοντος. τοῦτο τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν ὑπολαβόντες ἠξίωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἐξορμήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἑτοίμην ὠφέλειαν ἦλθον εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον ὡς ἀπολωλότων. καὶ διαψεύδεται μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐλπὶς αὕτη, περιστάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν οἱ δὲ διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν
41 φεύγοντες. ἐμβαλόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωαβιτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς τάς τε πόλεις κατεστρέψαντο[3] τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν διήρπασαν καὶ ἠφάνισαν πληροῦντες τῶν ἐκ τῶν χειμάρρων λίθων καὶ τὰ

[1] Niese: ὁρῶν codd
[2] ἀπεκτονηκότων MSP fort. recte.
[3] κατεσκάψαντο M.

[a] Bibl. "in the morning when the *minhah* (A.V. "meat offering") was offered."

before the sun rose, the[a] stream flowed with much water, for it came about that in this region of Idumaea, which was three days' journey away, God had sent a heavy rain, so that the army and the beasts of burden found an abundance of water to drink[b] But, when the Moabites heard that the three kings were marching against them and making their advance through the wilderness, their king at once collected an army and ordered them to pitch camp on the frontier[c] in order that the enemy might not invade their country unperceived But, when at sunrise they saw that the water in the stream, which was not, indeed, far from Moabite territory, was the colour of blood—for just at this time the water looks especially red in the rays of the sun—they received a false impression concerning the enemy, supposing that they had slain one another because of thirst, and that the river was running with their blood. And so, imagining this to be the case, they asked their king to send them out to plunder the enemy, and, all rushing out as if upon booty that waited to be seized, they came to the camp of the supposedly dead enemies And then their hopes proved false, for the enemy surrounded them, and some of them were cut down, while others were dispersed and fled to their own country But the kings invaded the Moabites' land, demolished the cities in it, ravaged their fields and covered them over by filling them with stones from the streams,[d]

Deceived by a natural phenomenon, the Moabites are defeated 2 Kings iii 20

[b] The last part of the sentence ("for it came about," etc.) is an addition to Scripture Rabbinic tradition gives a similar explanation of the filling of the pits.

[c] Text amended in agreement with Scripture, MSS "mountains"

[d] Scripture does not specify where the stones were obtained

κάλλιστα τῶν δένδρων ἔκοψαν[1] καὶ τὰς πηγὰς
ἐνέφραξαν τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τὰ τείχη καθεῖλον ἕως
42 ἐδάφους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Μωαβιτῶν συνδιωκό-
μενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν κινδυ-
νεύουσαν αἱρεθῆναι κατὰ κράτος, ὥρμησε μεθ'
ἑπτακοσίων ἐξελθὼν διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ-
ιππάσασθαι στρατοπέδου, καθ' ὃ μέρος αὐτοὺς[2]
ἐνόμιζεν τὰς φυλακὰς ἀνεῖσθαι. καὶ πειραθεὶς οὐκ
ἠδυνήθη φυγεῖν ἐπιτυγχάνει γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς φρου-
43 ρουμένῳ τῷ τόπῳ. ὑποστρέψας δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἔργον ἀπογνώσεως καὶ δεινῆς ἀνάγκης διεπράξατο·
τῶν υἱῶν[3] τὸν πρεσβύτατον,[4] ὃς μετ' αὐτὸν βασι-
λεύειν ἤμελλεν, ἀναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ἅπασι
φανερὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἱερούργησεν εἰς
ὁλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ
βασιλεῖς κατῴκτειραν τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ παθόντες
ἀνθρώπινόν τι καὶ ἐλεεινὸν διέλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν
44 καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέστρεψεν. Ἰωσά-
φατος δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ μετ'
εἰρήνης διαγαγών, ὀλίγον ἐπιβιώσας χρόνον μετὰ
τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην ἀπέθανε, ζήσας μὲν ἐτῶν
ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε
καὶ εἴκοσι. ταφῆς δ' ἔτυχε μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐν
Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ γὰρ ἦν μιμητὴς τῶν Δαυίδου
ἔργων.

[1] ἐξέκοψαν MSP
[2] αὐτοῦ (post ἐνόμιζεν RO) ROSP: αὐτοῖς Naber
[3] S²: τὸν υἱὸν rell. E Lat. [4] E: πρεσβύτερον codd.

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[a] So the LXX (ἕως τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου) renders the Heb. of vs. 25 which reads "until they left stones only in Kir Haraseth," evidently taking the Moabite Kir (*qir* = "city") as Heb. *qir* = "wall," and Haraseth (*ḥarāseth*) as if from the root *ḥrs* "destroy"; the Targum renders

cut down the best of their trees, stopped up their springs of water and razed their walls to the ground.[a] But the Moabite king, being hard pressed by the siege and seeing the city[b] in danger of being taken by storm, sallied out with seven hundred men to ride through the enemy's camp at a place where he thought the guards would let them get through.[c] And he made the attempt, but was unable to escape, for he happened on a place that was carefully guarded. Then he returned to the city and performed an act of despair and terrible necessity. His eldest son, who was to reign after him, he led up on to the wall, so that he was visible to all his enemies, and consecrated him as a whole burnt-offering to his god. And, when the kings saw him, they felt pity for him in his necessity, and, being moved by a feeling of humanity and compassion,[d] they raised the siege and returned, each to his home. So Josaphat came to Jerusalem and dwelt in peace, but lived on only a little while after that campaign, dying at the age of sixty years, for twenty-five of which he had reigned. And he received a magnificent burial in Jerusalem, for he had, indeed, been emulous of the acts of David.

The king of Moab sacrifices his eldest son. 2 Kings iii. 26.

Death of Jehoshaphat. 2 Chron. xxi. 1. 2 Chron. xx. 31.

similarly. Kir Haraseth (also called Kir of Moab) is the modern *Kerak*, about 12 miles E. of the southern end of the Dead Sea.

[b] Kir Haraseth is meant; it is not mentioned at this point (vs. 26) in Scripture, which says that the king of Moab "saw that the battle was too sore for him."

[c] Bibl. "to break through to the king of Edom."

[d] This reference to the kings' compassion is based on the LXX which renders by μετάμελος "repentance" the Heb. *qeseph* "anger" (A.V. "indignation") in vs. 27, "and there was great anger upon Israel," which probably refers to the anger of the Moabite god and implies a subsequent defeat of the Israelites.

45 (iv 1) Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἱκανούς, διάδοχον δ' ἀπέδειξε τὸν πρεσβύτατον[1] Ἰώραμον· ταὐτὸ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς[2] ἀδελφῷ, βασιλεύοντι
46 δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, Ἀχάβου[3] παιδί. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐκ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς Σαμάρειαν εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον, οὗ τὰς πράξεις βούλομαι διελθεῖν, λαμπραὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἱστορίας ἄξιαι, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐπεγνώκαμεν.

47 (2) Προσελθοῦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ φασι τὴν Ὠβεδίου τοῦ Ἀχάβου οἰκονόμου γυναῖκα εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ πῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς τοὺς προφήτας περιέσωσεν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀχάβου γυναικὸς Ἰεζαβέλας ἀναιρουμένους· ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δανεισαμένου τραφῆναι κεκρυμμένους· καὶ μετὰ τὴν τἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν ἄγεσθαι νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν αὐτήν τε καὶ τέκνα πρὸς δουλείαν, παρεκάλει τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν εὐεργεσίαν[4] τἀνδρὸς ἐλεῆσαί τε καὶ
48 παρασχεῖν τινα βοήθειαν. πυθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τί ἔχει[5] ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔφη, ἔλαιον δὲ βραχὺ λίαν ἐν κεραμίῳ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀπελθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀγγεῖα χρήσασθαι πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν

[1] πρεσβύτερον MSP: seniorem Lat
[2] μητρὸς MSPE Lat Zonaras
[3] Ἀχάβου δὲ ROM
[4] Ernesti: ἐργασίαν codd.
[5] ἔχοι MSP.

[a] Bibl Jehoram ($Y^ehôrām$), LXX Ἰωράμ.
[b] The variant "mother's" is in disagreement with Scripture.
[c] Jehoram of Israel
[d] Bibl. "a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets" The Targum and rabbinic tradition also identify the woman as the wife of Obadiah (on whom *cf. Ant.* viii.

(iv. 1) Now he left behind a good number of sons, but as his successor he had named the eldest, Joram,[a] who thus had the same name as his wife's[b] brother,[c] the ruler of the Israelites and the son of Achab. And, when the king of the Israelites came from Moab to Samaria, he had with him the prophet Elisha, whose acts I wish to relate—for they are glorious and worthy of record—as we discover them in the sacred books

Jehoshaphat is succeeded by Jeho 2 Chron xxi 1.

(2) It is said that there came to him the wife of Obedias,[d] the steward of Achab, saying that he was not ignorant of how her husband had saved the lives of the prophets who were to have been slain by Achab's wife Jezabela, for, she said, a hundred of them had been fed by him with money he had borrowed[e] and had been kept in hiding, now, after her husband's death, both she and her children[f] were being taken away into slavery by her creditors, and she besought him, because of this good deed[g] of her husband, to pity her and give her some assistance When he inquired what she had in the house, she replied that there was nothing but a very little oil in a jar[h] But the prophet bade her go and borrow from her neighbours many empty vessels and

Elisha a the wid jar of oi 2 Kings i

329 ff). The identification is probably based on the similarity of the woman's statement to Elisha (2 Kings iv 1), "thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord" to Obadiah's statement to Elijah (1 Kings xviii 12), "but I, thy servant, fear the Lord from my youth."

[e] Rabbinic tradition also adds the unscriptural detail that Obadiah borrowed the money to feed the prophets.

[f] Scripture does not include the woman herself.

[g] Emended text, MSS. "action"

[h] "Oil in a jar" agrees with the Luc text, Heb and LXX "oil with which to anoint myself" A.V, taking *'āsûk* "anoint" as a noun, also has "pot of oil"

γειτόνων κενά, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείσασαν τοῦ
δωματίου μεταχεῖν[1] εἰς ἅπαντα τὸ ἔλαιον· τὸν γὰρ
49 θεὸν πληρώσειν αὐτά. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τὰ κελευ-
σθέντα ποιησάσης[2] καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις προσφέρειν
ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγγείων προσταττούσης, ἐπεὶ πάντα
ἐπληρώθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν κενόν, ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν
50 προφήτην ταῦτα[3] ἀπήγγειλεν. ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευε[4]
τοὔλαιον ἀπελθούσῃ ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοῖς δανεισταῖς
ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· γενήσεσθαι δέ τι καὶ
περισσὸν[5] ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου, ᾧ πρὸς δια-
τροφὴν τὴν τῶν τέκνων καταχρήσεται. καὶ Ἐλισ-
σαῖος μὲν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξε τῶν χρεῶν τὴν γυναῖκα
καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν δανειστῶν ὕβρεως ἠλευθέρωσεν.

51 (3) [6]Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ ταχέως πρὸς Ἰώραμον ἐξ-
απέστειλε φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ
παραινῶν· εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ Σύρους τινὰς τοὺς
ἐκεῖ λοχῶντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς
οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἐξώρμησε τῷ προφήτῃ πειθό-
52 μενος· Ἄδαδος δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διαμαρτὼν ὡς
τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ καταμηνυσάντων πρὸς τὸν Ἰώρα-
μον τὴν ἐνέδραν, ὠργίζετό τε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος
αὐτοὺς προδότας ἔλεγε τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ καὶ
θάνατον ἠπείλει, φανερᾶς τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἣν
μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσε, τῷ πολεμίῳ γεγενημένης.
53 φήσαντος δέ τινος τῶν παρόντων ψευδοδοξεῖν[7]

[1] μετασχεῖν ROP μετεγχεῖν S [2] ποιούσης ROM.
[3] πάντα OP · τοῦτο Bekker [4] συμβουλεύει MSP.
[5] περισσότερον MSP
[6] ante Ἐλισσαῖος lacunam esse docet Hudson.
[7] μὴ ψευδοδοξεῖν MSPE Lat

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[a] There is a lacuna in Josephus's text corresponding to the

then shut the doors of her chamber and pour some of the oil into all of them, for God, he said, would fill them. And the woman did as he had bidden, and instructed her children to bring every one of the vessels; and, when all were filled and not a single one was left empty, she came to the prophet and told him of these things. Then he advised her to go and sell the oil and pay her creditors what was owing, saying that something would be left over from the price of the oil which she could use for the maintenance of her children. In this way, then, did Elisha free the woman of her debts and deliver her from the harsh treatment of her creditors.

(3) [a]Then Elisha hastily sent word to Joram, warning him to beware of that place, for, he said, there were some Syrians there lying in wait to kill him. And so the king did not again start out for the hunt,[b] in obedience to the prophet's word. Then Adados, having been unsuccessful in his plot, and thinking that his own men had betrayed the plan of the ambush to Joram, was enraged, and, having sent for them, called them betrayers of his secrets, and threatened them with death for having let the attempt (on Joram's life), which he had entrusted to them alone, become known to the enemy. But one of those present said that he was under a false

Elisha warns Jehoram a Syrian plot
2 Kings v

biblical narrative extending from 2 Kings iv. 8 to vi. 8, which tells of the Shunammite woman, the poisoned pottage, the miracle of the loaves, the leprosy of Naaman the Syrian, the rescue of the iron axe-head from the water, and the beginning of the Syrian war (vi. 8 reads, "Then the king of Syria warred against Israel and took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my camp.") Josephus's text resumes at this point.

[b] There is no mention of a hunt in Scripture.

αὐτόν, μηδὲ ὑπονοεῖν ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατειρηκότας τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τῶν ἀναιρησόντων αὐτόν,[1] ἀλλὰ γινώσκειν ὅτι Ἐλισσαῖός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης ὁ πάντα μηνύων αὐτῷ καὶ φανερὰ ποιῶν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βουλευόμενα, προσέταξε πέμψας μαθεῖν
54 ἐν τίνι πόλει τυγχάνει διατρίβων Ἐλισσαῖος. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἧκον ἀγγέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἐν Δωθαεὶν[2] ὑπάρχοντα πέμπει τοιγαροῦν Ἄδαδος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δύναμιν πολλὴν ἵππων καὶ ἁρμάτων, ὅπως τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον λάβωσιν. οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν περιλαβόντες εἶχον ἐν φρουρᾷ. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ τοῦ προφήτου διάκονος καὶ ὅτι ζητοῦσιν οἱ πολέμιοι λαβεῖν Ἐλισσαῖον, ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ταραχῆς δραμὼν πρὸς
55 αὐτόν ὁ δὲ τὸν θεράποντα μὴ δεδιέναι παρεθάρρυνε, καὶ τὸν θεόν, ᾧ συμμάχῳ καταφρονῶν[3] ἀδεὴς ἦν, παρεκάλει τῷ διακόνῳ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εὔελπι θάρσος ἐμφανίσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ[4] δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν, ὡς δυνατόν ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπήκοος τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ προφήτου γενόμενος πλῆθος ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων τῷ θεράποντι περὶ τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον κεκυκλωμένον θεάσασθαι παρέσχεν, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι μὲν τὸ δέος, ἀναθαρσῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς
56 νομιζομένης συμμαχίας. Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ὄψεις ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει, ἀχλὺν αὐταῖς ἐπιβαλόντα ἀφ' ἧς ἀγνοήσειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλον. γενομένου δὲ καὶ τούτου παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπηρώτησε τίνα

[1] αὐτούς O
[2] RO: Δωθαΐμ, Δωθαεὶμ rell.· Dothaim Lat
[3] κεχρημένος καταφρονῶν RO χρώμενος καταφρονῶν S· χρώμενος P
[4] Niese· αὐτοῦ codd. E.

impression and that he should not suspect them of having told his enemy of the sending out of the men who were to kill him, but should know that it was Elisha the prophet who had informed him of everything and had revealed to him the things plotted by Adados. Thereupon he gave orders to send men to learn in what city Elisha might then be dwelling. And the men who were sent came back with the report that he was in Dothaeim.[a] Accordingly, Adados sent to that city a great force with horses and chariots in order to take Elisha. These surrounded the whole city by night and kept it under guard. And when, at break of dawn, the prophet's servant learned of this and that the enemy were seeking to take Elisha, he came running to him with cries of alarm and informed him of these things. But the prophet encouraged his servant, telling him not to be afraid, and besought God, with whom as ally he was scornful of danger and without fear, to reveal, so far as was possible, His power and presence to his servant, in order that he might take hope and courage. Then God, hearkening to the prophet's prayers, permitted his servant to behold a host of horses and chariots[b] in a circle round Elisha, so that he lost his fear and took new courage at the sight of what seemed a host of allies. But Elisha after that besought God also to blind the eyes of the enemy and throw a mist[c] about them through which they would be unable to see him. And when this too was done, he came into the midst of the foe and

Ben-hadad (Adados) of Syria attempts to capture Elisha. 2 Kings vi. 14.

[a] Variant Dothaeim as in LXX, bibl. Dothan, modern *Tell Dōthān*, about 6 miles S.W. of the modern *Jenīn*, which is at the southern end of the Plain of Esdraelon.

[b] Bibl. "chariots of fire."

[c] The mist is a rationalistic detail added by Josephus.

ἐπιζητοῦντες ἦλθον τῶν δὲ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον εἰπόντων παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, εἰ πρὸς τὴν
57 πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τυγχάνει ὢν ἀκολουθήσειαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς ὄψεις ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπεσκοτημένοι σπουδάζοντες εἵποντο, ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἐλισσαῖος εἰς Σαμάρειαν Ἰωράμῳ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέταξε κλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας[1] καὶ περιστῆσαι τοῖς Σύροις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, τῷ θεῷ δὲ ηὔξατο καθᾶραι τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμαυρώσεως ἐκείνης ἀφεθέντες ἑώρων αὐτοὺς
58 ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπάρχοντας. ἐν ἐκπλήξει δὲ δεινῇ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ τῶν Σύρων οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ' οὕτως θείῳ καὶ παραδόξῳ πράγματι κειμένων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωράμου πυθομένου τὸν προφήτην εἰ κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς κατακοντισθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκώλυσε ποιεῖν Ἐλισσαῖος· τοὺς γὰρ νόμῳ πολέμου ληφθέντας ἀποκτείνειν εἶναι δίκαιον ἔλεγε, τούτους δὲ μηδὲν κακὸν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, θείᾳ δὲ δυνάμει πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας ἐλθεῖν.
59 συνεβούλευέ τε ξενίων αὐτοῖς μεταδόντα καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολύειν ἀβλαβεῖς Ἰώραμος μὲν οὖν τῷ προφήτῃ πειθόμενος ἑστιάσας λαμπρῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοτίμως τοὺς Σύρους ἀπέλυσε πρὸς Ἄδαδον τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα

60 (4) Τῶν δ' ἀφικομένων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτῷ τὰ συμβεβηκότα θαυμάσας ὁ Ἄδαδος τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν προφήτην, ᾧ τὸ θεῖον οὕτως

[1] θύρας MSP

asked them whom they had come in search of. When they said it was the prophet Elisha, he promised to deliver him if they would follow him to the city where he happened to be. And so, with their eyes and understanding beclouded by God, they eagerly went with the prophet, who led the way. When Elisha had brought them to Samaria, he ordered King Joram to shut the gates and place his own army around the Syrians; then he prayed to God to clear the eyes of the enemy and remove the mist from before them. And, when they were freed from their blindness, they saw that they were in the midst of their foes. Then, while the Syrians, as was natural, were in dire consternation [a] and helplessness at so divine and marvellous an event, King Joram asked the prophet whether it was his bidding that they be shot down, but Elisha prevented him from doing this, saying that it was right to kill those who were captured by the law of war, but that these men had done no harm to his country and, without knowing it, had come to them by the power of God. He also counselled him to offer them hospitality and food and send them away unhurt. And so Joram, in obedience to the prophet's advice, entertained the Syrians very splendidly and lavishly and then sent them back to Adados their king.

(4) But, when they came and informed him of what had happened, Adados was amazed at the marvel and at the manifestation of the God of the Israelites and His power, and also at the prophet, with whom the Deity was so evidently present [b], and so, be- Ben-hadad besieges Jehoram in Samaria. 2 Kings vi 23.

[a] The Syrians' consternation is an unscriptural detail.

[b] Ben-hadad's amazement is an unscriptural detail. On the manifestation of the power of the Israelite God as God of war *cf. Ant.* vi 27, for Hellenistic parallels *cf.* P Roussel in *Bull. de Corresp. hell* lv. (1931): 108.

ἐναργῶς παρῆν, κρύφα μὲν οὐκέτι διέγνω τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν βασιλεῖ, τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον δεδοικώς, φανερῶς δὲ πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε, τῷ πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῇ δυνάμει νομίζων περιέσεσθαι
61 τῶν πολεμίων καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον, ὃς οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὑτὸν ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι τοῖς Σύροις ἐνέκλεισεν αὑτὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, θαρρῶν τῇ τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι. Ἄδαδος δὲ λογισάμενος αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς μηχανήμασι, λιμῷ μέντοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς, προσ-
62 βαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω δὲ ἐπέλιπε τὸν Ἰώραμον ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία, ὡς δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐνδείας ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ πραθῆναι ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος κεφαλὴν ὄνου, πέντε δ' ἀργυρῶν νομίσματος ξέστην κόπρου περι-
63 στερῶν ἀντὶ ἁλῶν ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους. ἦν δ' ἐν φόβῳ μὴ διὰ τὸν λιμὸν προδῷ τις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰώραμος καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκπεριήρχετο τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς φύλακας, μή τις ἔνδον εἴη παρ' αὐτῶν[1] σκεπτόμενος[2] καὶ τῷ βλέπεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαί τι τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἔργον, εἰ ταύτην τις τὴν γνώμην
64 ἤδη λαμβάνειν ἔφθασεν. ἀνακραγούσης δέ τινος

[1] post *αὐτῶν* lacunam suspicatur Niese

[2] *σκεπόμενος* RO Lat.

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[a] The contrast between "secret attempts" and the decision "to fight openly" is made to reconcile vs. 23, "the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel," with vs 24, "And it came to pass after this that Ben-hadad, king of Syria, gathered all his host and went up and besieged Samaria."

[b] Unscriptural detail.

cause of his fear of Elisha, he determined to make no more secret attempts on the life of the Israelite king, but decided to fight openly, in the belief that he would overcome the enemy by the numbers and strength of his army.[a] So he marched with a great force against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for the Syrians,[b] shut himself up in Samaria, relying on the strength of its walls. But Adados, who counted on capturing the city, if not by engines, at any rate by bringing the Samarians [c] to terms through famine and the lack of provisions, moved up his men and besieged the city And Joram's supply of necessities was reduced to such an extent that through the excessive lack of food an ass's head was sold for eighty [d] pieces of silver in Samaria, and the Hebrews paid five pieces of silver for a *sextarius* (*xestē*) [e] of dove's dung to be used for salt.[f] And Joram was in constant fear that, because of the famine, someone might betray the city to the enemy, and every day he would walk all around the walls to the guards, spying out whether any of the enemy were within the city, and by his appearance and precautions preventing any (citizen) even from wishing such a thing, or from acting on it if he had already formed such a plan [g] Now, when a certain woman

The famine in Samaria 2 Kings vi 25

[c] "Samaritans" is a term more appropriate to the inhabitants of Samaria after the Babylonian Exile.

[d] So Heb., LXX 50.

[e] Bibl. "a fourth part of a cab (*qab*)", this would equal a *log*, approximately a pint The *log* is equated with the *sextarius* also in *Ant* viii. 57 (*cf.* note *ad loc*).

[f] "Used for salt" is an unscriptural detail. Some Jewish commentators assume that the dung was used for fuel.

[g] This explanation of Jehoram's motives in walking around the walls is an addition to Scripture, which says merely that "as he was walking by on the wall, a woman cried out," etc.

γυναικός "δέσποτα[1] ἐλέησον" νομίσας αἰτεῖν τι μέλλειν αὐτὴν τῶν πρὸς τροφήν, ὀργισθεὶς ἐπηράσατο αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μήτε ἅλως[2] αὐτῷ μήτε ληνοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγεν, ὅθεν τι καὶ παράσχοι ἂν[3]
65 αὐτῇ δεομένῃ. τῆς δ' οὐδενὸς μὲν τούτων χρῄζειν εἰπούσης οὐδ' ἐνοχλεῖν τροφῆς ἕνεκα, κριθῆναι δ' ἀξιούσης πρὸς ἄλλην γυναῖκα, κελεύσαντος λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν περὶ ὧν ἐπιζητεῖ, συνθήκας ἔφη ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τῆς ἑτέρας γυναικὸς γειτνιώσης καὶ φίλης αὐτῇ τυγχανούσης, ὅπως ἐπεὶ τὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἦν ἀμήχανα διαχρησάμεναι τὰ τέκνα (ἦν δ' ἄρρεν ἑκατέρᾳ παιδίον) "ἀνὰ μίαν
66 ἡμέραν θρέψωμεν ἀλλήλας. κἀγὼ μέν," φησί, "πρώτη τοὐμὸν κατέσφαξα καὶ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν ἡμέραν τοὐμὸν ἐτράφημεν ἀμφότεραι· νῦν[4] δ' οὐ βούλεται ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραβαίνει τὴν συν-
67 θήκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀφανῆ πεποίηκε." τοῦτ' ἐλύπησε σφοδρῶς Ἰώραμον ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δεινὸν ἐκβοήσας ἔπειτα ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἐλισσαῖον πληρωθεὶς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὥρμησεν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖται τοῦ θεοῦ πόρον τ'[5] αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφυγὴν τῶν περιεχόντων κακῶν δοῦναι· τόν τε ἀποτεμοῦντα αὐτοῦ τὴν
68 κεφαλὴν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἠπείγετο τοῦ προφήτου· τὸν δ' Ἐλισσαῖον οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργή, καθεζόμενος δὲ οἴκαδε παρ' αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ἰώραμος ὁ τοῦ φονέως υἱὸς

[1] + κύριε MSP. [2] Niese: ἅλωας codd. E.
[3] παράσχοι ἂν Niese: παράσχοιεν RMSP: παράσχειεν O: παράσχοι Bekker. [4] ἡ MSPE Lat Zonaras.
[5] πόρον τ' Niese: πόρον MSP: παρόντα R: παρόντος O.

cried out, "Have pity, my lord," he was angered, thinking that she was about to beg for food or the like, and he called down God's curse upon her,[a] saying that he had neither threshing-floor nor wine-press from which he might give her something at her entreaty But she said that she needed none of these things nor was she troubling him about food; she begged, however, that her case against another woman be judged, and, when he bade her speak and inform him of what she wanted, she said that she had made an agreement with the other woman, who was her neighbour and friend,[b] that, since the conditions of famine and need had become impossible to bear, they should make an end of their children—each had a son—and "we were each in turn to feed the other for one day. And I first slaughtered my son, and we both made a meal of him yesterday, and now she will not do the same, but has broken the agreement and has put her son out of sight" This grieved Joram sorely when he heard it, and he tore his garment in pieces and cried out fearfully; then, being filled with wrath against the prophet Elisha, he was bent on doing away with him because he did not ask God to give them a way out and an escape from the ills that surrounded them, and he at once sent out a man to cut off his head. And so this man hurried off to make away with the prophet. But Elisha was not unaware of the king's wrath; sitting in his own house with his disciples,[c] he warned them that Joram, the son of the murderer,[d] had sent

The cannibalism of two Israelite women. 2 Kings vi 26

Jehoram's attempt to kill Elisha 2 Kings vi 31

[a] So Heb. and LXX, "may the Lord not save thee; how should I save thee?" A V renders, "If the Lord do not help thee, whence should I help thee?"

[b] Unscriptural details

[c] Bibl. "the elders."

[d] Ahab is meant.

πέμψειε τὸν ἀφαιρήσοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν
69 " ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς," φησίν, " ὅταν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθεὶς
ἀφίκηται, παραφυλάξαντες εἰσιέναι μέλλοντα προσ-
αποθλίψατε τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ κατάσχετε ἀκολουθήσει
γὰρ αὐτῷ πρός με παραγινόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς
μεταβεβουλευμένος." καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ κελευσθὲν
ὡς ἧκεν ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν
70 ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἐλισσαίου ἐποίησαν· Ἰώραμος δὲ
καταγνοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν προφήτην ὀργῆς καὶ δείσας
μὴ φθάσῃ κτείνας αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦτο προσταχθείς,
ἔσπευσε κωλῦσαι γενέσθαι τὸν φόνον καὶ διασῶσαι
τὸν προφήτην. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο
ὅτι μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λύσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρόντων
αἰτεῖται κακῶν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτῶν φθειρομένους
71 ὑπερορᾷ Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐπηγ-
γέλλετο κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν, καθ' ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀφίκετο[1] πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔσεσθαι πολλὴν εὐπορίαν
τροφῆς καὶ πραθήσεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σίκλου
δύο κριθῆς σάτα, ὠνήσεσθαι δὲ σεμιδάλεως σάτον
72 σίκλου. ταῦτα τόν τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
εἰς χαρὰν περιέτρεψε· πιστεύειν γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ
διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς προπεπειραμένοις ἀλήθειαν οὐκ
ὤκνουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνης ἐνδεὲς τῆς ἡμέρας
καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἡ προσδοκωμένη κοῦφον αὐτοῖς

[1] ἀφῖκτο Naber

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[a] The meaning of Heb. *lehaṣtem ôthô baddeleth* (A V. " hold him fast at the door ") is not quite clear. Josephus's rendering προσαποθλίψατε τῇ θύρᾳ is similar to LXX παραθλίψατε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θύρᾳ " press him close in the door "

[b] Bibl " is not the sound of his master's feet behind him ? "

[c] The preceding is an amplification of the obscure verse (2 Kings vi. 33), " And while he (Elisha ?) yet talked with

someone to take off his head. "But you," he said, "when the man arrives who has been given this order, be on guard as he is about to enter, and press him back against the door [a] and hold him there, for the king will follow him and come to me, having changed his mind" [b] So, when the man came who had been sent by the king to make away with Elisha, they did as he had ordered But Joram, repenting of his wrath against the prophet and fearing that the man who had been ordered to kill him might already be doing so, hastened to prevent the murder and save the prophet And, when he came to Elisha, he reproached him for not having asked of God a deliverance from their present misfortunes, and for looking on so indifferently while they were being destroyed by them [c] But Elisha promised that on the morrow at the very same hour at which the king had come to him there would be a great abundance of food, and that two *sata* [d] of barley would be sold in the market for a shekel, while a *saton* of fine flour would be bought for a shekel. These words changed the feelings of Joram and those present to one of joy, for they did not hesitate to believe the prophet, having been convinced of his truthfulness by earlier experiences; moreover the expected day (of plenty) made the want and distress of that day seem light to them.[e] But the commander

them, the messenger came down to them, and he (the king ?) said, Behold, this evil is from the Lord, why should I wait for the Lord any longer ?"

[d] Heb. *s*e*'āh* (A V "measure"), LXX *μέτρον*. In § 85 the *saton* is equated with $1\frac{1}{2}$ Italian *modii* (=24 *sextarii*) the *s*e*'āh* would thus equal 24 Heb. *logs* or pints (*cf* § 62 note); this agrees with other ancient estimates.

[e] This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

73 ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ
φίλος ὢν καὶ τότε φέρων αὐτὸν ἐπερηρεισμένον
"ἄπιστα," εἶπε, "λέγεις, ὦ προφῆτα καὶ ὥσπερ
ἀδύνατον ἐκχέαι τὸν θεὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταρράκτας
κριθῆς ἢ σεμιδάλεως, οὕτως ἀμήχανον καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ
σοῦ νῦν εἰρημένα γενέσθαι." καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρὸς
αὐτόν "ταῦτα μέν," εἶπεν, "ὄψει τοῦτο λαμβά-
νοντα τὸ τέλος, οὐ μεταλήψῃ δ' οὐδενὸς τῶν
ὑπαρξόντων.[1]"
74 (5) Ἐξέβη τοίνυν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ ὑπὸ
Ἐλισσαίου προειρημένα· νόμος ἦν ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ
τοὺς λέπραν ἔχοντας καὶ μὴ καθαροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
τοιούτων τὰ σώματα μένειν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως.
ἄνδρες οὖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέσσαρες διὰ ταύτην τὴν
αἰτίαν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν μένοντες, μηκέτι μηδενὸς
αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ λιμοῦ τροφὴν ἐκ-
75 φέροντος, εἰσελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν νόμον
κεκωλυμένοι, κἂν ἐπιτραπῇ δ' αὐτοῖς διαφθαρήσε-
σθαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ λογισάμενοι, τοῦτο[2] δὲ
πείσεσθαι κἂν αὐτόθι μείνωσιν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῆς,
παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὑτοὺς ἔκριναν ὡς εἰ
μὲν φείσαιντο αὐτῶν ζησόμενοι, εἰ δ' ἀναιρεθεῖεν
76 εὐθανατήσοντες. ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλὴν
νυκτὸς ἧκον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων
ἤρχετο δ' ἤδη τοὺς Σύρους ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ ταράττειν
ὁ θεὸς καὶ κτύπον ἁρμάτων καὶ ἵππων[3] ὡς ἐπερχο-

[1] ὑπαρξάντων ROMP.
[2] ταὐτὸ Naber.
[3] ὅπλων MSPE Lat.: ἵππων τε καὶ ὅπλων Zonaras.

[a] *Cf* LXX τριστάτης, rendering Heb. *šālîš* (A.V. "lord"); the Targum has "warrior."

[b] Heb "if the Lord made windows in heaven," LXX

of the third division,[a] who was a friend of the king and who was just then supporting the king as he leaned on him, said, "Incredible are the things you are saying, O prophet. And, as impossible as it is for God to rain down from heaven torrents of barley or fine flour,[b] just so impossible is it for the things of which you have now spoken to happen." And the prophet said to him, "You shall see these things come to pass in this way, but you shall have no share in any of the things that are to be."

(5) And, indeed, the things which had been foretold by Elisha came to pass in this manner. There was a law in Samaria that those who had leprosy and whose bodies were not clean from such diseases should stay outside the city.[c] Now there were four men who for this reason were dwelling before the gates; but, as no one any longer brought food out to them because of the extremity of the famine, and as they were prevented by law from entering the city, they reflected that even if it were permitted them to enter they would perish miserably through the famine, and that they would suffer the same fate if they remained there, and so they decided to give themselves up to the enemy, in the hope that if these spared their lives they would be able to live, and that if they were put to death they would die without suffering greatly. Having firmly agreed on this plan, they went by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had already begun to frighten and disturb the Syrians and to cause the noise of chariots and

The four lepers of Samaria. 2 Kings vii. 3

ἰδοὺ ποιήσει Κύριος καταράκτας ἐν οὐρανῷ. Josephus seems to have confused LXX καταράκτας "windows" with καταρράκτας (also written καταράκτας) "torrents." But cf. the Targum's addition, "and bring down abundance."

[c] Amplification of Scripture.

μένης στρατιᾶς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐνηχεῖν καὶ ταύτην ἐγγυτέρω προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν.
77 ἀμέλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς διετέθησαν, ὥστε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐκλιπόντες συνέδραμον πρὸς τὸν Ἄδαδον, λέγοντες ὡς Ἰώραμος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς μισθωσάμενος συμμάχους τόν τε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν νήσων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἄγει· προσιόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπακούειν τοῦ κτύπου.
78 ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὁ Ἄδαδος (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς περιεψοφεῖτο ἤδη τὰς ἀκοὰς ὁμοίως τῷ πλήθει) προσέσχε, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀταξίας καὶ θορύβου, καταλιπόντες ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον, εἰς φυγὴν
79 ἐχώρησαν. οἱ δὲ λεπροὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸ τῶν Σύρων στρατόπεδον, ὧν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθημεν, ὡς γενόμενοι πρὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἀφωνίαν ἔβλεπον οὖσαν καὶ παρελθόντες δὲ εἴσω καὶ ὁρμήσαντες εἰς μίαν σκηνὴν οὐδένα ἑώρων, ἐμφαγόντες[1] καὶ πιόντες ἐβάστασαν ἐσθῆτα καὶ πολὺν χρυσὸν
80 κομίσαντές τ᾽[2] ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς[3] ἔκρυψαν· ἔπειτ᾽ εἰς ἑτέραν σκηνὴν παρελθόντες ὁμοίως τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν ἐξεκόμισαν, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησαν τετράκις μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ὅλως ἐντυγχάνοντος. ὅθεν εἰκάσαντες ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν μὴ ταῦτα δηλούντων τῷ Ἰωράμῳ καὶ
81 τοῖς πολίταις καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸ τῆς

[1] ἐν μέσῳ φαγόντες MSP.
[2] κομίσαντές τ᾽ ex Lat. Niese. κομίσαντες codd · καὶ κομίσαντες Naber.
[3] πόλεως PE.

horses, as if an army were advancing, to resound in their ears, and this suspicion He brought ever closer to them. Finally they were so much affected by this means that they left their tents and ran to Adados,[a] saying that Joram, the Israelite king, had hired as allies both the king of Egypt and the king of the islands,[b] and was leading these against them, for, they said, they could hear the noise they made as they approached. As they were speaking, Adados listened carefully—his own ears, indeed, were already being assailed by the same sounds as were those of the people—, and then, abandoning their horses and beasts of burden and uncounted wealth in their camp, they turned to flee in great disorder and confusion. But the lepers who had left Samaria for the camp of the Syrians, as we mentioned a little while ago, came to the camp and observed the great quiet and silence; and, when they had gone inside, they hastened to one of the tents, but, seeing no one there, they hurriedly ate and drank and carried off garments and much gold from the camp, which they buried. Then they went to another tent and again in the same way carried out what was in it; and this they did four times[c] without meeting anyone at all. Surmising, therefore, that the enemy had withdrawn, they reproached themselves for not having reported this to Joram and the citizens. And so they came to the wall of

Flight of the Syrians. 2 Kings vii. 7.

[a] Bibl. "they arose and fled in the darkness." Ben-hadad is not mentioned in the biblical account following.

[b] Bibl. "Hittites." Josephus has confused LXX Χετταίων (=Heb. *Ḥittim* "Hittites") with Χεττείμ or the like (=Heb. *Kittim*), representing Cyprus or the Greek islands generally; *cf.* LXX Jer. ii. 10 εἰς νήσους Χεττιείμ.

[c] Unscriptural detail.

Σαμαρείας τεῖχος καὶ ἀναβοήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς φύλακας ἐμήνυον αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φύλαξι, παρ' ὧν μαθὼν Ἰώραμος μεταπέμπεται
82 τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πρὸς οὓς ἐλθόντας ἐνέδραν καὶ τέχνην ὑπονοεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως "ἀπογνόντος[1] ἡμᾶς τῷ λιμῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι, ἵνα ὡς πεφευγότων εἰς διαρπαγὴν ἐξελθόντων τῆς παρεμβολῆς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπέσῃ καὶ κτείνῃ μὲν αὐτούς, ἀμαχητὶ δὲ ἕλῃ τὴν πόλιν· ὅθεν ὑμῖν παραινῶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν αὐτὴν καὶ μηδαμῶς προιέναι καταφρονήσαντας[2] τῷ τοὺς
83 πολεμίους ἀνακεχωρηκέναι" φήσαντος δέ τινος ὡς ἄριστα μὲν καὶ συνετώτατα ὑπονοήσειε, πέμψαι γε μὴν συμβουλεύσαντος δύο τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς τὴν ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου πᾶσαν ἐξερευνήσοντας, ἵν' εἰ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ λοχώντων τῶν πολεμίων διαφθαρεῖεν φυλακὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ γένωνται τοῦ μηδὲν ὅμοιον παθεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνυπόπτως προελθοῦσαν· "προσαριθμήσεις δέ," φησί, "τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τεθνηκόσι τοὺς ἱππεῖς, κἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ληφθέντες ἀπό-
84 λωνται" ἀρεσθεὶς δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τότε[3] τοὺς κατοψομένους ἐξέπεμψεν οἱ δὲ κενὴν μὲν πολεμίων τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυσαν, μεστὴν δὲ σιτίων καὶ ὅπλων εὗρον, ἃ διὰ τὸ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν εἶναι ῥίπτοντες κατέλιπον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαφῆκεν.

[1] ed pr.· ἀπογνόντας (-νῶντας O) codd
[2] καὶ . . καταφρονήσαντας] μὴ καταφρονήσαντας RO· φρονήσαντας M
[3] τότε om SP

[a] Scripture, 2 Kings vii 13, speaks of "five horses",

Samaria and, shouting up to the guards, informed them of what had become of the enemy, whereupon these announced this news to the king's guards, from whom Joram learned of it and summoned his friends and commanders. And, when they came, he told them that he suspected the retreat of the Syrian king to be a snare and a trick; "giving up hope that we shall perish through famine, he has done this in order that, when we go out to plunder their camp in the belief that they have fled, he may suddenly fall upon our men and kill them and take the city without a battle. Wherefore I urge you to keep it well guarded and by no means to attack, being careless of danger because of the enemy's withdrawal." But someone said that, while the king was suspicious with the best reason and most wisely, he would at least advise him to send two of his horsemen [a] to search all the country as far as the Jordan in order that, if they were captured by the enemy lying in ambush and were slain, they might be a protection to the army against suffering a like fate through an incautious advance. "And," he added, "if they are captured by the foe and put to death, you will (merely) be adding the horsemen to those who have perished in the famine." Thereupon the king, approving of this plan, sent out the scouts. And these found the road which they covered bare of enemies but full of abandoned provisions and arms which they had thrown away in order to be unimpeded in their flight. When the king heard of this, he let the people loose to plunder

The lepers report the Syrians' flight. 2 Kings vii. 10.

Jehoram plunders the Syrian camp, end of the famine. 2 Kings vii. 15.

in vs. 14 Heb. has *šenê rekeb sûsîm* "two chariots of horses," LXX, reading *rôkēb* or *rakkāb*, "rider," has δύο ἐπιβάτας ἵππων, which reading Josephus follows.

85 εὐτελὲς δ᾽ οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγον ὠφελοῦντο, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν χρυσόν, πολὺν δ᾽ ἄργυρον, ἀγέλας δὲ παντοδαπῶν κτηνῶν ἐλάμβανον[1] ἔτι γε μὴν σίτου μυριάσι καὶ κριθῆς αἷς οὐδ᾽ ὄναρ ἤλπισαν ἐπιτυχόντες τῶν μὲν προτέρων κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἀφθονίαν δ᾽ εἶχον ὡς[2] ὠνεῖσθαι δύο μὲν σάτα κριθῆς σίκλου σεμιδάλεως δὲ σάτον σίκλου κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν· ἰσχύει δὲ τὸ σάτον μόδιον
86 καὶ ἥμισυ Ἰταλικόν. μόνος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ὤνατο τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμών· κατασταθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπέχῃ τῆς πολλῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύσωσιν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι συμπατηθέντες ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔπαθε καὶ τοῦτον ἀποθνήσκει τὸν τρόπον, τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ προφητεύσαντος Ἐλισσαίου, ὅτε τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐσομένης εὐπορίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων λεγομένοις μόνος ἐξ ἁπάντων οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν.
87 (6) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἄδαδος διασωθεὶς εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εἰς τὸ δέος καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν ἐκείνην ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐξ ἐφόδου πολεμίων ἐγένετο, σφόδρα τῷ δυσμενῆ τὸν θεὸν
88 ἔχειν ἀθυμήσας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν. ἐκδημήσαντος δὲ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Δαμασκὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου γνοὺς ὁ Ἄδαδος, τὸν πιστότατον τῶν οἰκετῶν Ἀζάηλον ἔπεμψεν ὑπαντησόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα κομίζοντα, κελεύσας

[1] ἐλάμβανον om. ROM. [2] ὡς om. ROE

[a] *Cf.* § 71 note

[b] Josephus omits the episode of the Shunammite woman's return after the famine, 2 Kings viii 1-6.

the things in the camp And they acquired no slight or small amount of gain, but took much gold and much silver and herds and flocks of all kinds ; moreover they came upon such untold quantities of wheat and barley as they had not even dreamed of, and so they were delivered from their former sufferings and had such plenty that two *sata* of barley could be bought for a shekel, and a *saton* of fine flour for a shekel, in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha Now the *saton* is equal to one and a half Italian *modii*.[a] The only one who did not enjoy any of these good things was the commander of the third division, for, having been stationed by the king at the gate to hold back the rush of the crowd and prevent the danger of their being pushed around by one another and trampled to death, he himself suffered this fate and died in this way, as Elisha had prophesied when this man alone of them all had refused to believe what he said concerning the abundance of provisions that was to be.

Ben-hadad sends Hazael (Azaēlos) to consult Elisha about his illness 2 Kings viii 7

(6) [b] Now, when the Syrian king Adados, who had escaped to Damascus, learned that it was the Deity who had thrown both him and all his army into all that terror and confusion, and that it had not arisen from the advance of the enemy, he was greatly disheartened at having incurred God's displeasure, and fell ill [c] But at that very time the prophet Elisha had left home for Damascus, and, when Adados knew of it, he sent Azaēlos,[d] the most trusted of his servants,[e] to meet him, bringing him gifts,[f] and he ordered him

[c] Scripture does not connect Ben-hadad's illness with his defeat. [d] Bibl. Hazael (*Hazā'ēl*), LXX ʽΑζαήλ

[e] Unscriptural detail.

[f] So Luc. (δῶρον) renders Heb. *minḥah*, which LXX transliterates as *μααvά*.

ἔρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου καὶ εἰ διαφεύξεται τὸν ἐξ
89 αὐτῆς κίνδυνον. Ἀζάηλος δὲ μετὰ καμήλων τεσ-
σαράκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, αἳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τι-
μιώτατα τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ γινομένων καὶ ὄντων ἐν
τῷ βασιλείῳ ἔφερον δῶρα, συμβαλὼν τῷ Ἐλισσαίῳ
καὶ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ
Ἀδάδου τοῦ βασιλέως πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν δῶρά
τε κομίσαι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου εἰ[1] ῥᾴων
90 ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔσοιτο. ὁ δὲ προφήτης τὸν μὲν Ἀζάηλον
ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ βασιλεῖ κακόν, ἔλεγε
δ' ὅτι τεθνήξεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκέτης τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐλυπεῖτο ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ὁ δ' Ἐλισσαῖος ἔκλαιε καὶ
πολλοῖς ἐρρεῖτο δακρύοις, προορώμενος ἃ πάσχειν
ὁ λαὸς ἔμελλε κακὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀδάδου τελευτήν.
91 ἀνακρίναντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀζαήλου τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς
συγχύσεως "κλαίω," φησί, "τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐλεῶν, ὧν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεται δεινῶν·
ἀποκτενεῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τὰς
ὀχυρωτάτας πόλεις ἐμπρήσεις, καὶ παιδία μὲν
ἀπολεῖς προσρηγνὺς πέτραις τὰς δ' ἐγκύους ἀν-
92 αρρήξεις γυναῖκας." τοῦ δ' Ἀζαήλου λέγοντος
"τίνα γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐμοὶ[2] τηλικαύτην εἶναι συμ-
βέβηκεν, ὥστε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι," τὸν θεὸν ἔφησεν
αὐτῷ δεδηλωκέναι τοῦθ', ὅτι τῆς Συρίας μέλλοι
βασιλεύειν. Ἀζάηλος μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενος πρὸς
τὸν Ἄδαδον τῷ μὲν τὰ βελτίω περὶ τῆς νόσου κατ-
ήγγελλε, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ δίκτυον ἐπιβαλὼν αὐτῷ

[1] καὶ εἰ RO. [2] ἐν ἐμοὶ MSP.

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[a] Scripture (2 Kings viii 11) seems to mean that Hazael kept the expression of his features unmoved; the Targum's rendering, "lengthened it greatly," may have suggested Josephus's interpretation

to inquire of the prophet about his illness and ask whether he would escape the danger it threatened. Thereupon Azaēlos, with forty camels bearing the most beautiful and costly gifts to be found in Damascus and in the palace, went to meet Elisha and, after greeting him in a friendly manner, said that he had been sent to him by King Adados to bring him gifts and to inquire about his illness, whether he would recover from it. Then the prophet bade Azaēlos not to announce the bad news to the king, but said that he would die. And, while the king's servant was grieving at what he had heard,[a] Elisha began to cry and shed many tears, foreseeing the great ills which the people was to suffer after the death of Adados. And, when Azaēlos asked him the reason of his distress, he said, "I am crying out of pity for the Israelite people because of the misfortunes which it will suffer at your hands. For you will slay their best men and burn their strongest cities, and you will kill their children by dashing them against the rocks and will rip up their women with child." Then, when Azaēlos asked, "What power has been given to me, so great that I can do these things?[b]" he replied that God had revealed to him that Azaēlos was to be king of Syria. So Azaēlos came to Adados and gave him a good report as to his illness, but the next day he spread a mesh-cloth[c] dipped in water over him and

Elisha foretells Ben-hadad's death and Hazael's succession. 2 Kings viii. 10.

[b] Bibl. "What is thy servant, the dog (LXX "dead dog"), that he should do this great thing?"

[c] Heb. *makbēr* (A.V. "thick cloth") is of uncertain meaning; Targum and Luc. render "bed-covering," LXX transliterates as *χαββά* (*v.l.* *μαχμά*). Josephus's rendering, *δίκτυον* "mesh," would seem to fit better Heb. *mikmar* or *mikmereth*, less probably (as Weill suggests) Heb. *mikbar* 'network' (of metal, wood, etc.; *cf.* LXX Ex. xxvii. 4).

93 διάβροχον τὸν μὲν στραγγάλῃ διέφθειρε, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς παρέλαβε δραστήριός τε ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχων παρὰ τῶν Σύρων εὔνοιαν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, ὑφ' οὗ μέχρι νῦν αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄδαδος καὶ Ἀζάηλος ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄρξας ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶνται διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῶν ναῶν οἰκοδομίας, οἷς ἐκόσμησαν τὴν τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν
94 πόλιν. πομπεύουσι δ' αὐτοὶ[1] καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ σεμνύνονται τὴν τούτων ἀρχαιότητα, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν[2] οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔτη χίλια καὶ ἑκατόν ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀδάδου τελευτὴν ἀνέπνευσεν ἐκ τῶν φόβων καὶ τοῦ δέους ὃ δι' αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἀσμένως εἰρήνης λαμβανόμενος.

95 (v 1) Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς (καὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν ταὐτό, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν ἔμπροσθεν, ὄνομα) παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πατρῴων φίλων οἳ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν ἐχώρησε, τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς πονηρίας ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος καὶ μηδὲν διενεγκὼν τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ[3] βασιλέων, οἳ πρῶτοι παρηνόμησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἑβραίων
96 ἔθη καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν. ἐδίδαξε δ' αὐτὸν τά τ' ἄλλα εἶναι κακὸν καὶ δὴ καὶ ξενικοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν Ὀθλία[4] θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀχάβου συν-

[1] οὗτοι ROSP. [2] ἔχοντες RO
[3] Ἰσραὴλ (ἰσ̅λ̅) MSP. [4] Niese: Γοθολία codd.

[a] Unscriptural detail.

[b] Nicolas of Damascus may be the source of this addition to Scripture. T. Reinach refers to Justinus xxxvi. 2. 3, a passage on the early kings of Damascus, which reads, " Post Damas Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israhel reges

killed him by suffocation. Then he took over the royal power himself, being a man of action and in great favour with the Syrians and the people of Damascus,[a] by whom Adados and Azaēlos who ruled after him are to this day honoured as gods because of their benefactions and the building of temples with which they adorned the city of Damascus.[b] And they have processions every day in honour of these kings and glory in their antiquity, not knowing that these kings are rather recent and lived less than eleven hundred years ago.[c] Now, when Joram, the Israelite king, heard of Adados's death, he breathed again more freely after the alarms and the terror which he had felt on his account, and gladly welcomed peace.[d]

(v. 1) But Joram, the king of Jerusalem—he bore this same name, as we stated earlier[e]—no sooner came into power than he proceeded to slay his brothers and his fathers' friends who were also chiefs, making this the beginning and the outward sign of his wickedness; and in no way did he differ from the kings of the people[f] who first transgressed against the ancient customs of the Hebrews and the worship of God. The one who taught him to do wrong in so many ways, and especially in worshipping foreign gods, was Achab's daughter Othlia,[g] who was married

Jehoram of Judah and his queen, Athaliah (Othlia). 2 Kings viii. 16; 2 Chron. xxi. 1.

fuere." Josephus (or his source) is evidently thinking of the god Hadad, the chief deity of the Aramaeans, *cf.* S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, etc. (Schweich Lectures), 1930, pp. 130 ff. A god Hazael seems to be unknown.

[c] Ben-hadad and Hazael reigned about 850 B.C., *i.e.* less than 1000 years before Josephus's time of writing (*c.* A.D. 100).

[d] The remarks on Jehoram's feeling are an addition to Scripture.

[e] § 45.

[f] Variant "Israel."

[g] Emended form, MSS. Gotholia, as in LXX., bibl. Athaliah (*'Athalyāhû*). She is not named at this point in Scripture (2 Kings viii. 18; 2 Chron. xxi. 6).

οἰκοῦσα δ' αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην ὁμολογίαν οὐκ ἐβούλετο τούτου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσαι, Ἰώραμος δ' οὐ διέλιπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καινουργῶν ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἐπι-
97 χωρίων ἐθισμῶν. ἀποστάντων δ' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ τὸν μὲν πρότερον ἀποκτεινάντων βασιλέα, ὃς ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρί, ὃν δ' ἐβούλοντο αὐτοὶ καταστησάντων, Ἰώραμος μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πέριξ τῆς αὐτοῦ[1] βασιλείας
98 διέφθειρε, πορρωτέρω δ' οὐ προῆλθεν ὤνησε μέντοι τοῦτο ποιήσας οὐδέν[2] πάντες γὰρ ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν τὴν καλουμένην Λαβίναν[3] νεμόμενοι ἦν δ' οὕτως ἐμμανὴς ὥστε τὸν λαὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα[4] τῶν ὀρῶν ἀναβαίνοντα προσκυνεῖν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεούς
99 (2) Ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ πράττοντι καὶ τελέως ἐκβεβληκότι τῆς διανοίας τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα κομίζεται παρ' Ἠλίου τοῦ προφήτου ἐπιστολή,[5] ἣ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου μεγάλην παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενον δίκην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰδίων πατέρων μιμητὴς οὐκ ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέων κατηκολούθησεν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ συνηνάγκασε τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφέντας τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ

[1] Niese · αὐτοῦ codd. E. [2] οὐδὲ ἓν RO.
[3] Λάβαιναν cod Vat ap. Hudson: Labennan Lat.
[4] ὑψηλὰ MSP. [5] + ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς ἦν SP

[a] Scripture says merely that they revolted from Judah and made themselves a king, implying that they had had no independent king during Jehoshaphat's reign, *cf* 1 Kings xxii 47 (Heb. 48), "There was then (in Jehoshaphat's reign) no

to him. But God because of His covenant with David did not wish utterly to destroy his line, although Joram did not let a day go by without devising some new form of impiety and violation of his country's traditions. Now, when, about that time, the Idumaeans revolted from him and, after killing their former king who had been submissive to Joram's father,[a] set up a king of their own choosing, Joram, with his own body of horsemen and chariots, invaded Idumaea by night and destroyed those people who were near the borders of his kingdom, but did not proceed farther By this act, however, he gained nothing at all, for they all revolted from him, including those who inhabited the region called Labina.[b] And he was so far out of his mind that he forced the people to go up to the highest parts of the mountains and worship strange gods.

The Edomite revolt 2 Kings viii 20, 2 Chron xxi 8

(2) While he was acting in this fashion and completely disregarding his country's laws, a letter was brought to him from the prophet Elijah,[c] which informed him that God would inflict severe punishment on him because, instead of having imitated his own fathers, he had followed the impious example of the Israelite kings and had compelled the tribe of Judah and the citizens of Jerusalem to give up the

Elijah's prophecy of Jehoram's fall 2 Chron. xxi 12

king in Edom, a governor (A.V "deputy") was king" Josephus, however, follows the contradictory account in 2 Kings iii. 9 ff. (see above, § 30), which speaks of a "king of Edom" accompanying Jehoshaphat in the war against the Moabites

[b] Bibl. Libnah, LXX 2 Kings Λοβενά (v.l. Λομνά, cod B Σεννά), Luc Λοβνά, 2 Chron Λοβνά (v.l. Λομνά). It has been tentatively identified by Albright with mod. *Tell Bornaṭ* on the eastern border of the Philistine plain in the latitude of Bethlehem.

[c] The variant (as if to explain the surprising fact) adds "for he was still upon earth."

ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ θρησκείαν[1] σέβειν τὰ εἴδωλα, καθὼς καὶ Ἄχαβος τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐβιάσατο,
100 ὅτι τε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διεχρήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτεινεν· τήν τε τιμωρίαν ἣν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφέξειν ἔμελλεν ἐσήμαινε τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ προφήτης, ὄλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ
101 φθορὰν γυναικῶν αὐτοῦ[2] καὶ τέκνων, καὶ ὅτι τεθνήξεται νόσῳ τῆς νηδύος ἐπὶ πολὺ βασανισθείς, καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτοῦ[3] δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθορᾶς ἐκρυέντων, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα[4] τὴν αὑτοῦ συμφορὰν καὶ μηδὲν βοηθῆσαι δυνάμενον ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Ἠλίας.
102 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ στρατὸς Ἀράβων τῶν ἔγγιστα τῆς Αἰθιοπίας κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων εἰς τὴν Ἰωράμου βασιλείαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τήν τε χώραν διήρπασαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. εἷς δὲ αὐτῷ περιλείπεται τῶν παίδων διαφυγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους Ὀχοζίας[5] ὄνομα.
103 μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτὸς τὴν προειρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου νόσον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον νοσήσας χρόνον (ἐπέσκηψε γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν), ἐλεεινῶς ἀπέθανεν ἐπιδὼν αὑτοῦ[6] τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκρυέντα. περιύβρισε δ' αὐτοῦ

[1] θρησκείαν om RO.
[2] + τοῦ βασιλέως codd. Lat.
[3] αὐτῷ cod. Vat ap Hudson.
[4] ἐπιδόντα SP
[5] Ὀζίας M Lat.
[6] Dindorf: αὐτῷ R: αὐτοῦ rell.

[a] Or "after great torment."
[b] Josephus uses the LXX word ἀλλόφυλοι "foreigners" to

holy service of their national God and to worship idols just as Achab had forced the Israelites to do, and also because he had done away with his brothers and had slain the good and righteous men. And the penalty which he was to pay for these offences the prophet indicated in his letter, namely the destruction of his people and the death of his wife and children, and that he should die of a disease of the intestines after a long period of torment,[a] when, from the excessive corruption of his inward parts, his bowels would fall out, so that he would look on at his own misery without being able to help himself at all, and finally would die in this manner Such were the things which Elijah told him in his letter

(3) Not long after, an army of those Arabs who lived nearest Ethiopia, and the Philistines[b] invaded the kingdom of Joram, they plundered the country and the king's residence, and moreover slew his sons and wives[c] Only one of his sons, named Ochozias,[d] was left to him, having escaped from the enemy And after this misfortune he himself for a very long time suffered from the disease which the prophet had foretold to him—for the Deity had struck at his stomach in His wrath,—and so perished miserably, looking on while his entrails fell out And the populace treated

Jehoram's misfortunes and death 2 Chron xxi 16

designate the Philistines, but follows the Heb. in speaking of the Philistines and the Arabs living near Ethiopia, while LXX has "Philistines and Arabs *and* the neighbours of the Ethiopians"

[c] Bibl "captured (LXX "carried away") . . his sons and his wives (LXX "daughters")."

[d] Bibl Ahaziah (*'Ahazyāhû*), LXX 'Οχοζείας. In 2 Chron xxi 17 he is called Jehoahaz (*Yᵉhô'aḥaz*), which is the same name as Ahaziah except that the two elements (*Yâhû* = the tetragram, and *'aḥaz* "has taken") are transposed.

104 καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ λαός· λογισάμενος γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν οὕτως ἀποθανόντα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ μηδὲ κηδείας τῆς βασιλεῦσι πρεπούσης ἄξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, οὔτε ταῖς πατρῴαις ἐνεκήδευσαν αὐτὸν θήκαις οὔτε ἄλλης τιμῆς ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτην ἔθαψαν, βιώσαντα μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ὀκτώ. παραδίδωσι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀχοζίᾳ

105 (vi 1) Ἰώραμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἀδάδου τελευτὴν ἐλπίσας Ἀραμάθην[1] πόλιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τοὺς Σύρους στρατεύει μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὴν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοξευθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν Σύρων οὐ καιρίως ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰεζαρήλην[2] πόλιν ἰαθησόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ τραῦμα, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Ἀραμάθῃ τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν Νεμεσαίου[3] παῖδα Ἰηοῦν· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὴν ᾑρήκει

106 κατὰ κράτος. προύκειτο δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν πολεμεῖν τοῖς Σύροις. Ἐλισσαῖος δ' ὁ προφήτης ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ[4] μαθητῶν, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον, ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀραμάθην χρίσοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν καὶ φράσοντα ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ᾕρηται βασιλέα ἄλλα τε πρὸς τούτοις εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας

[1] Ἀραμώθα RO· Ἀραμὼθ E· Aramath Lat

[2] Niese Ἱεζερήλην RO: Ἀζαρην M Ἰαζάρην SP: Hiezrahelam Lat.

[3] Niese: Ἀμασῆ ROSPE Zonaras. Ἀμασὶ M· Amessi Lat.· Ἀμασίου cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: Νεμεσσὶ vel Ναμασὶ Hudson

[4] Niese αὐτοῦ codd. E.

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[a] Bibl "and the people made no burning (LXX ἐκφοράν "burial") for him like the burning of his fathers."

[b] Bibl. "he departed without being missed (LXX οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ "not with praise")."

even his dead body with indignity [a], as they reasoned, I suppose, that one who had died in this manner through the wrath of God was not worthy to obtain a form of burial befitting kings, they neither laid him to rest in the sepulchres of his fathers nor did they grant him any other honour, but buried him like a commoner,[b] at the age of forty years and after a reign of eight years. And the people of Jerusalem gave the royal power over to his son Ochozias.

Jehoram of Israel attacks the Syrians in Gilead 2 Kings viii. 28

(vi. 1) Now Joram, the king of the Israelites, hoped, after the death of Adados, to take the city of Aramathē in Galaaditis [c] from the Syrians, and marched against it with a great array,[d] but in the siege he was shot by one of the Syrians, and, though not mortally wounded, withdrew to the city of Jezarēlē[e] to have his wound healed there, and left his whole army behind in Aramathē with their commander Jehu,[f] the son of Nemesaios,[g] for he had already taken it by storm. And it was his intention, after being cured, to continue the war with the Syrians.[h]

Elisha sends a disciple to anoint Jehu as king of Israel 2 Kings ix. 1.

But the prophet Elisha sent one of his disciples,[i] to whom he gave the holy oil, to Aramathē to anoint Jehu and tell him that the Deity had chosen him king, and, having instructed him to say other things

[c] Bibl. Ramoth-gilead, *cf. Ant.* viii. 399 note.
[d] Scripture adds that Ahaziah accompanied him.
[e] Bibl. Jezreel, *cf. Ant.* viii. 346 note *a*.
[f] Gr. Jēūs, *cf. Ant.* viii. 352 note *f*.
[g] Bibl. Nimshi, *cf. ibid.* note *g*. At this point in Scripture (2 Kings ix. 2) Jehu is called "the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi," but Luc. has "the son of Nimshi the son of Jehoshaphat," which reading Josephus follows as agreeing with the earlier reference, 1 Kings xix. 16.
[h] Unscriptural detail.
[i] The prophet Jonah, according to Jewish tradition, *cf.* § 139 note *f*.

ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ φυγῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν,
107 ὅπως λάθῃ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπιών. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν μὲν Ἰηοῦν εὑρίσκει καθεζόμενον μετὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνων μέσον αὐτῶν, καθὼς Ἐλισσαῖος αὐτῷ προεῖπε, προσελθὼν δὲ
108 ἔφη βούλεσθαι περί τινων αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ ἀναστάντος καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντος εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον, λαβὼν ὁ νεανίσκος τὸ ἔλαιον κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔφη βασιλέα χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἀχάβου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκδικήσῃ[1] τὸ αἷμα τῶν προφητῶν τῶν ὑπὸ
109 Ἰεζαβέλας παρανόμως ἀποθανόντων, ἵν' ὁ τούτων οἶκος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ Ναβαταίου παιδὸς καὶ Βασὰ[2] πρόρριζος διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀφανισθῇ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολειφθῇ σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου, σπουδάζων μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὁραθῆναι.

110 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ἰηοῦς προελθὼν ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκαθέζετο. πυνθανομένων δὲ καὶ φράζειν αὐτοῖς παρακαλούντων τί πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ προσέτι μαίνεσθαι λεγόντων αὐτόν, " ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε εἰκάσατε," εἶπε, " καὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους μεμηνότος
111 ἐποιήσατο." σπουδαζόντων δ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δεο-

[1] ἐκδικήσει M.
[2] Ἀβασᾶ SP: Βαάσα M· Βασὰν O· Abisa Lat.

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[a] Bibl. " flee and tarry not "
[b] On the LXX ταμιεῖον ἐν ταμιείῳ, translating the Heb.

in addition, he told him to make the journey as if he were a fugitive, in order that he might get away from there without being seen by anyone.[a] And so, when he came to the city, he found Jehu seated in the midst of the officers of the army, as Elisha had foretold to him, and, going up to him, he said that he wished to speak with him about certain matters. Then, when Jehu got up and followed him into an inner chamber,[b] the youth took the oil and poured it over his head, saying that God had elected him king to destroy the line of Achab and to avenge the blood of the prophets who had unlawfully been put to death by Jezabela, in order that their house, like that of Jeroboam, the son of Nabataios, and that of Basa,[c] might be destroyed root and branch and that no seed might be left of Achab's family.[d] And, when he had said these things, he darted out of the inner chamber, taking care not to be seen by any of those in the army.[e]

(2) But Jehu went out and came to the place where he had been sitting with the officers. And, when they questioned him and urged him to tell them why the youth had come to him, adding that he was a madman, he replied, "You have, indeed, guessed right, for the words he spoke were those of a madman."[f] But they were eager to hear them and

The army proclaims Jehu king
2 Kings ix. 11

idiom *heder b[e]heder*, lit. "chamber in chamber," *cf.* *Ant.* viii. 410 note.

[c] Called Basanēs in *Ant.* viii. 288; bibl. Baasha, LXX Βαασά.

[d] Josephus omits the scriptural statement (2 Kings ix. 10), "and the dogs shall eat Jezebel," etc.

[e] Bibl. "and he opened the door and fled."

[f] Bibl. "you know the man and his talk (LXX ἀδολεσχίαν "idle talk")."

μένων ἔφη τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ᾑρῆσθαι βασιλέα τοῦ πλήθους εἰρηκέναι ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἕκαστος περιδύων αὐτὸν ὑπεστρώννυεν[1] αὐτῷ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ σαλπίζοντες τοῖς κέρασιν ἐσήμαινον Ἰηοῦν εἶναι
112 βασιλέα ὁ δὲ ἀθροίσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἔμελλεν ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ Ἰώραμον εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ, καθὼς προείπομεν,[2] ἐθεραπεύετο τὴν πληγὴν ἣν ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ Ἀραμάθης πολιορκίᾳ ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας ἀφιγμένος πρὸς τὸν Ἰώραμον υἱὸς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὡς καὶ προειρήκαμεν, ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν
113 ἐληλύθει Ἰηοῦς δὲ βουλόμενος αἰφνιδίως τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰώραμον προσπεσεῖν[3] ἠξίου μηδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδράντα μηνῦσαι ταῦτα τῷ Ἰωράμῳ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν ἐπίδειξιν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ διακειμένους οὕτως ἀποδεῖξαι αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

114 (3) Οἱ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡσθέντες[4] ἐφύλαττον τὰς ὁδοὺς μή τις εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν διαλαθὼν μηνύσῃ αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰηοῦς τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους παραλαβὼν καὶ καθίσας ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος εἰς τὴν Ἰεζάρηλαν ἐπορεύετο, γενομένου

[1] ex Lat. Coccejι. ἐπεστρώννυεν RSPE(O) ἐπεστόρευεν M.
[2] προεῖπον RO
[3] ἐμπεσεῖν MSP.
[4] πεισθέντες Naber.

[a] Emended text The Heb (2 Kings ix 13) is obscure, "and put it under him at the *gerem* (A.V. "top") of the steps"; LXX transliterates *gerem*, Targum renders *d^erag ša'ayā* "smooth step" (not "grade of the sun-dial" as some Jewish commentators explain) and similarly later commentators. Josephus apparently takes *gerem*, which regularly means "bone" in Aramaic (and occasionally in Heb), in the sense of "foot."

begged him to speak, whereupon he said that the youth had told him that God had chosen him king of the people. When he had said this, every man took off his cloak and spread it under Jehu's feet,[a] and, sounding the trumpets, they proclaimed him king. Then he collected the army and prepared to set out against Joram to the city of Jezarēla, where, as we have said before,[b] he was being healed of the wound which he had received in the siege of Aramathē. Now it happened also that Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem, had come to Joram, for he was, as we have said before,[c] the son of his sister and, because of their kinship,[d] had come to see for himself how his wound was doing. But Jehu, wishing to fall suddenly upon Joram and his men, asked that none of his soldiers run off and inform Joram of these plans, saying that if they observed this request it would be a clear proof of their loyalty to him and that they had declared him king because of their friendly feeling toward him.[e]

(3) And so, approving of[f] what he said, they guarded the roads in order that no one might escape to Jezarēla and betray him to those who were there.[g] Then Jehu, taking along the pick of his horsemen, took his seat in his chariot[h] and set out for Jezarēla; Jehu's drive to Jezreel 2 Kings ix. 16

[b] § 105. [c] § 45.

[d] Scripture gives no reason for Ahaziah's visit to Jehoram.

[e] The latter part of this sentence is an addition to Scripture, probably based on the LXX rendering, εἰ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ, of the conventional Heb. phrase (2 Kings ix. 15), "if it be your pleasure (lit. "soul"), let none go forth," etc.

[f] Suggested variant "obeying."

[g] This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

[h] So Heb. and Luc. (ἐπέβη); most LXX MSS. have ἔσπευσεν "hastened"; cod. B ἵππευσεν usu. "rode on horseback," sometimes "drove a chariot."

δὲ ἐγγὺς ὁ σκοπὸς ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος
καθεστάκει τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφορᾶν,
ἰδὼν μετὰ πλήθους προσελαύνοντα τὸν Ἰηοῦν
ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμῳ προσελαύνουσαν ἱππέων ἴλην.
115 ὁ δ᾿ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπεμφθῆναί τινα τῶν ἱππέων
ὑπαντησόμενον καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ προσιὼν γνωσό-
μενον. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὁ ἱππεὺς
ἐπηρώτα περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· πυνθάνεσθαι
γὰρ ταῦτα τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μὲν περὶ τού-
των πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἕπεσθαι δ᾿ αὐτῷ.
116 ταῦτα ὁ σκοπὸς ὁρῶν ἀπήγγειλεν Ἰωράμῳ τὸν
ἱππέα συγκαταμιγέντα τῷ πλήθει τῶν προσιόντων
σὺν ἐκείνοις παραγίνεσθαι. πέμψαντος δὲ καὶ
δεύτερον τοῦ βασιλέως ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν προσέταξεν
117 Ἰηοῦς. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ σκοπὸς
Ἰωράμῳ, τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ἐπιβὰς ἅρματος σὺν
Ὀχοζίᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεῖ (παρῆν
γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡς ἔφαμεν[1] ἔμπροσθεν ὀψόμενος αὐτὸν
πῶς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔχοι διὰ συγγένειαν)
ἐξῆλθεν ὑπαντησόμενος. σχολαίτερον δὲ καὶ μετ᾿
118 εὐταξίας ὥδευεν Ἰηοῦς. καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ
Ναβώθου τοῦτον Ἰώραμος ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ πάντα
ἔχοι καλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον· βλασφη-
μήσαντος δὲ πικρῶς αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦδος, ὡς καὶ τὴν
μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακὸν καὶ πόρνην[2] ἀποκαλέσαι,

[1] Naber: ἔφημεν codd.: ἔφην Niese.
[2] καὶ πόρνην om. RO.

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[a] Bibl "stream" (A.V. "company"), LXX κονιορτόν "dust-cloud," Luc. κονιορτὸν τοῦ ὄχλου "dust-cloud of the multitude."

[b] Bibl. "Thus says the king, Is it peace?" Heb. *šālôm*, here translated "peace," often means "it is well," in which sense Josephus takes it here.

but, as he came near, the look-out whom King Joram had stationed to watch for those entering the city saw Jehu advancing with a host of men, and informed Joram that a troop of horsemen[a] was advancing. Thereupon he at once ordered one of his own horsemen to meet them and find out who it was that was coming. So the horseman came to Jehu and asked him about the state of things in the camp, saying that the king wanted to know.[b] But Jehu told him not to trouble himself about these matters,[c] but to follow him. When the look-out saw this, he reported to Joram that the horseman had joined himself to the host of men approaching, and was coming with them. And, when the king sent a second man, Jehu ordered him to do the same (as the first). But, when the look-out informed Joram of this also, he himself mounted his chariot with Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem—he too was there, as we said before,[d] because of their kinship, to see how Joram's wound was getting on—and went out to meet him. Now Jehu was going along rather slowly and in good order.[e] And Joram, coming upon him in the field of Naboth, inquired whether all was well with the camp.[f] But Jehu reviled him bitterly, going so far as to call his mother a witch and a harlot,[g] whereupon the king,

Jehu slays Jehoram and wounds Ahaziah 2 Kings ix. 18

[c] Bibl. " What have you to do with peace ? "

[d] § 112.

[e] So the Targum renders Heb. *b*e*šiggā'ôn* " in madness " (A.V. " furiously "), LXX ἐν παραλλαγῇ. The (correct) rendering in the English bible has given rise to the proverbial expression " drive like Jehu."

[f] *Cf.* note *b*.

[g] Variant omits " harlot." Scripture uses the abstract plurals, " harlotries and witchcrafts," LXX πορνεῖαι καὶ φάρμακα.

δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπονοήσας, στρέψας ὡς εἶχε τὸ ἅρμα ἔφυγε, φήσας πρὸς Ὀχοζίαν ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ δόλῳ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι Ἰηοῦς δὲ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν καταβάλλει, τοῦ βέλους διὰ τῆς καρδίας ἐνεχθέντος.
119 καὶ Ἰώραμος μὲν εὐθὺς πεσὼν ἐπὶ γόνυ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκεν, Ἰηοῦς δὲ προσέταξε Βαδάκῳ[1] τῷ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμόνι ῥῖψαι τὸν Ἰωράμου νεκρὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀναμνήσας αὐτὸν τῆς Ἠλία προφητείας, ἣν Ἀχάβῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Νάβωθον ἀποκτείναντι προεφήτευσεν ὡς ἀπολεῖται αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου χωρίῳ·
120 ταῦτα γὰρ καθεζόμενος ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἅρματος Ἀχάβου λέγοντος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ προφήτου καὶ δὴ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τὴν ἐκείνου. πεσόντος δὲ Ἰωράμου δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Ὀχοζίας τὸ ἅρμα εἰς ἑτέραν ὁδὸν
121 ἐξένευσε, λήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰηοῦν ὑπολαβών. ὁ δ' ἐπιδιώξας καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔν τινι προσβάσει τοξεύσας ἔτρωσε, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ἐπιβὰς[2] ἵππῳ φεύγει τὸν Ἰηοῦν εἰς Μαγεδδὼ[3] κἀκεῖ θεραπευόμενος μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτᾷ κομισθεὶς δ' εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς τυγχάνει βασιλεύσας μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα, πονηρὸς δὲ καὶ χείρων τοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενος.

[1] Βαδάκρῳ ex Lat (Vadacro) Hudson.
[2] ἀναβὰς RO.
[3] Hudson: Μαγιαδδὼ codd.· Mageddon Lat

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[a] The phrase μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φρονεῖν (occurring also in *B.J.* v. 326) is Sophoclean, *cf.* *Phil* 1006.
[b] So Heb. and LXX, A.V. (inaccurately) "sunk down"
[c] Bibl. Bidkar, LXX Βαδεκάρ (cod. B Βαδεκά), Luc Βαδέκ.
[d] *Cf.* § 73 note *a*.

fearing his intentions and suspecting that he meant no good,[a] turned his chariot where it was and fled, telling Ochozias that they had been manœuvred into a trap and tricked But Jehu shot at him and hit him. the arrow going through his heart And Joram immediately fell on his knees[b] and breathed his last Then Jehu ordered Badakos,[c] the commander of the third division,[d] to throw Joram's corpse into the field of Naboth, reminding him of Elijah's prophecy which he had made to Joram's father Achab who had killed Naboth, when he said that both he and his line should perish in Naboth's field These things, said Jehu, he had heard the prophet say, when seated behind Achab's chariot And indeed it fell out in accordance with Elijah's prophecy. When Joram fell, Ochozias, being fearful for his own safety, turned his chariot aside to another road, thinking to elude Jehu. But he pursued him closely and, overtaking him at a certain rise of ground,[e] shot and wounded him[f]; thereupon Ochozias abandoned his chariot and, mounting a horse, fled from Jehu to Mageddo,[g] where, although he received treatment,[h] he died from the wound shortly after Then he was brought to Jerusalem and there received burial; he 2 Chron xxii 2
had reigned only a year, but had been a bad king, even worse than his father

[e] Bibl "at the ascent of Gur which is near Ibleam."

[f] According to Heb. and Luc of 2 Kings ix. 27 Jehu commands his men (LXX has the command in the sing., *ἄρας δὴ ῥῖψον*) to shoot Ahaziah, but according to the Luc addition after 2 Kings x 36 it was Jehu who shot Ahaziah, and, finally, according to LXX of 2 Chron. xxii. 9 when Ahaziah was caught at Samaria and brought to Jehu, Jehu killed him (Heb "and they killed him").

[g] Bibl Megiddo, *cf. Ant* viii. 151 note

[h] So LXX 2 Chron.; Heb "lay hid in Samaria."

122 (4) Τοῦ δὲ Ἰηοῦδος εἰσελθόντος εἰς Ἰεζάρηλαν κοσμησαμένη Ἰεζαβέλα καὶ στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου " καλός," εἶπε, " δοῦλος ὁ ἀποκτείνας[1] τὸν δεσπότην." ὁ δ' ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ καταβᾶσαν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τέλος τοῖς εὐνούχοις προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
123 πύργου βαλεῖν καταφερομένη δ' ἤδη τό τε τεῖχος περιέρρανε τῷ αἵματι καὶ συμπατηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὕτως ἀπέθανε τούτων δὴ γενομένων παρελθὼν Ἰηοῦς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεκτᾶτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τραπέζῃ προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀνελομένοις τὴν Ἰεζαβέλαν θάψαι διὰ τὸ γένος ἦν γὰρ ἐκ
124 βασιλέων. εὗρον δ' οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς οἱ προσταχθέντες τὴν κηδείαν ἢ[2] μόνα τὰ ἀκρωτήρια, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πᾶν ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἦν δεδαπανημένον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰηοῦς ἐθαύμαζε τὴν Ἡλίου προφητείαν οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν Ἰεζαρήλᾳ προεῖπε τοῦτον ἀπολεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον

125 (5) Ὄντων δ' Ἀχάβῳ παίδων ἑβδομήκοντα τρεφομένων δ'[3] ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ πέμπει δύο ἐπιστολὰς Ἰηοῦς τὴν μὲν τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Σαμαρέων, λέγων τὸν ἀνδρειότατον τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέα (καὶ γὰρ ἁρμάτων αὐτοῖς[4] εἶναι πλῆθος καὶ ἵππων καὶ

[1] ὁ ἀποκτείνας ME ὃς ἀποκτείνας SP[1]. ὃς ἀπέκτεινε P[2]. ὃς ἀποκτείνει O. qui occidit Lat
[2] πλὴν SP. [3] δ' αὐτῶν RO. [4] αὐτῷ RO

[a] Bibl "Is it well with Zimri (A.V "had Zimri peace"),

Jehu slays Jezebel
2 Kings ix. 30

(4) Now as Jehu entered Jezarēla, Jezabela, who had adorned herself and was standing on the tower, cried, "A fine servant, who has killed his master!"[a] But he looked up at her and asked who she was,[b] and commanded her to come down to him; finally he ordered the eunuchs to throw her from the tower. And, behold, as she fell, the wall was spattered with her blood, and she was trampled by the horses, and so died. After these happenings, Jehu came to the palace with his friends, and refreshed himself after his ride with food and other things. He also ordered the servants who had sent Jezabela to her death to bury her, out of respect for her lineage, for she came of a line of kings. But the men who had been ordered to bury her found nothing more of her body than the extremities alone; all the rest had been devoured by dogs. When Jehu heard this, he marvelled at the prophecy of Elijah, for he had foretold that she would perish in this manner at Jezarēla.

Jehu orders the death of Ahab's sons
2 Kings x. 1

(5) Now Achab had seventy sons, who were being brought up in Samaria, and Jehu sent two letters, one to their tutors, and the other to the magistrates of Samaria,[c] telling them to appoint the bravest of Achab's sons as king, for, he said, they had an abundance of chariots, horses, arms, soldiers and

who killed his master?" Jezebel alludes ironically to the regicidal deed of Zimri, the successor of Elah, 1 Kings xvi. 9 ff. (*Ant.* viii. 307 ff.).

[b] So LXX, τίς εἶ σύ, renders Heb. *mî 'ittî mî*, lit. "who is with me, who?"; LXX evidently read *'att* "thou" for *'ittî* "with me." The Heb. phrase is traditionally rendered "who is on my side?"

[c] Scripture says merely that Jehu sent letters (LXX βιβλίον "a letter") to the elders of Samaria and to the guardians of the princes, not specifying "two letters": *cf.* § 127 note *b*.

ὅπλων καὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς ἔχειν) καὶ
τοῦτο ποιήσαντας εἰσπράττεσθαι δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ
126 δεσπότου. ταῦτα δὲ γράφει[1] διάπειραν βουλό-
μενος λαβεῖν τῆς τῶν Σαμαρέων διανοίας ἀνα-
γνόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ
παιδαγωγοὶ κατέδεισαν, καὶ λογισάμενοι μηδὲν
δύνασθαι ποιεῖν πρὸς τοῦτον,[2] δύο γὰρ[3] μεγίστων
ἐκράτησε βασιλέων, ἀντέγραψαν ὁμολογοῦντες
αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεσπότην καὶ ποιήσειν ὅτι ἂν κελεύῃ.
127 ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν, αὐτῷ[4] τε ὑπακούειν
κελεύων καὶ τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων τὰς κεφαλὰς
ἀποτεμόντας πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες
μεταπεμψάμενοι τοὺς τροφεῖς τῶν παίδων προσ-
έταξαν ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτοὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπο-
τεμεῖν καὶ πέμψαι πρὸς Ἰηοῦν οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ὅλως
φεισάμενοι τοῦτο ἔπραξαν καὶ συνθέντες εἴς τινα
πλεκτὰ ἀγγεῖα τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς
128 Ἰεζάρηλαν. κομισθεισῶν δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται
μετὰ τῶν φίλων δειπνοῦντι τῷ Ἰηοῦ ὅτι κομισθεῖεν
αἱ τῶν Ἀχάβου παίδων[5] κεφαλαί. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς
πύλης ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ αὐτῶν
129 ἀναστῆσαι[6] βουνούς. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἅμα
ἡμέρᾳ πρόεισιν ὀψόμενος, καὶ θεασάμενος ἤρξατο
πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λαὸν λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ
τὸν δεσπότην στρατεύσαιτο τὸν αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνον
ἀποκτείνειε, τούτους δὲ[7] οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀνέλοι· γινώ-

[1] δὲ γράφει E: δ' ἐγεγράφει RO· ἐγράφει P δ' ἔφη MS. autem scripsit Lat ἔγραψε ταῦτα Zonaras
[2] τοῦτο RO.
[3] δύο γὰρ RO ὃς δύο MSP Lat.
[4] Niese: αὐτῷ codd. E
[5] τέκνων MSP
[6] S: ἀναστῆναι rell E.
[7] δὲ πάντας MSPE Lat.

fortified cities,[a] and, when they had done this, to take vengeance for their master's death. This he wrote because he wished to test the feelings of the Samarians toward himself But, when they read the letters, the magistrates and the tutors were terrified and, reflecting that they could do nothing against one who had overcome two very great kings, they wrote back, agreeing to have him for their master and to do whatever he commanded He thereupon wrote back, commanding them to obey him and to cut off the heads of Achab's sons and send them to him So the magistrates summoned the sons' tutors and ordered them to kill them[b] and cut off their heads and send them to Jehu And they did so, showing no mercy at all, and, putting their heads in woven baskets,[c] sent them off to Jezarēla When they had been brought there, it was announced to Jehu, as he was dining with his friends,[d] that the heads of Achab's sons had been brought He thereupon commanded that they be set up before the gate in two heaps, one on either side And, after this was done, he went out at dawn to see them, and, when he had looked at them, he began to speak to the people there present, saying that he had indeed marched against his master and killed him, but these youths he himself had not slain He also asked them to recog-

[a] "Fortified cities" are mentioned in LXX, Heb "fortified city" (collective?). Neither text specifically mentions soldiers.

[b] Unscriptural detail. Scripture seems not to distinguish between the elders of the city and the tutors of the princes, *cf.* 2 Kings x. 6 f. "And the sons of the king were with the great men (LXX ἁδροί "chiefs") of the city, who brought them up, And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, they took the king's sons and slew seventy persons." etc.

[c] Heb. *dûdîm* (A.V "baskets"), LXX καρτάλλοις.

[d] "Dining with his friends" is an unscriptural detail.

σκειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠξίου περὶ τῆς Ἀχάβου γενεᾶς, ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν γέγονε καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ[1] Ἠλίας προεῖπεν,
130 ἀπόλωλε προσδιαφθείρας δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰεζαρηλίταις εὑρεθέντας ἐκ τῆς Ἀχάβου συγγενείας ἱππεῖς[2] εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπορεύετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς Ὀχοζία συμβαλὼν οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς
131 τί δή ποτε παρεγένοντο οἱ δ' ἀσπασόμενοί τε Ἰώραμον καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Ὀχοζίαν ἥκειν ἔφασκον (οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένους). Ἰηοῦς δὲ καὶ τούτους συλληφθέντας ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν, ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεσσαράκοντα δύο
132 (6) Συναντᾷ δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τούτους ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος Ἰωνάδαβος ὄνομα φίλος αὐτῷ πάλαι γεγονώς, ὃς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ πάντα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ,
133 τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξαφανίσας[3] τὴν Ἀχάβου Ἰηοῦς δ' ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα συνεισελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Σαμάρειαν παρεκάλει, λέγων ἐπιδείξειν πῶς οὐδενὸς φείσεται πονηροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τὴν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὺς δὲ ξενικοὺς προσ-

[1] καὶ om MSPE
[2] ἱππεῖς om M · cum equis Lat
[3] ἐξαφανίσαντα ed pr. fort. recte.

[a] Gr. "knights", bibl "all his great men (LXX ἁδρούς "chiefs") and kinsmen and priests."

nize that all these things had happened to Achab's family, in accordance with God's prophecy and his house had perished, just as Elijah had foretold Then, having also destroyed the nobles [a] related to Achab, who were found among the people of Jezarēla, he set out for Samaria But on the way he fell in with some relatives of Ochozias, the king of Jerusalem, and he asked them what they might have come for. Thereupon they replied that they had come to greet Joram and their own king, Ochozias [b]—they were not aware that both kings had been done to death by him Then Jehu ordered that they too should be seized and slain, being forty-two in number.

(6) After these men (had been disposed of), there met him a good and just man named Jonadab,[c] who had long been his friend,[d] and, after greeting him, he began to commend him for having done everything in accordance with the will of God in extirpating the house of Achab [e] Then Jehu asked him to come up into his chariot and come along with him to Samaria, saying that he would show him how he would spare no wicked man, but would punish the false prophets and the false priests and those who had seduced the people into abandoning the worship of the Most High God and bowing down to strange gods ; it was, he

Jehu and Jehonadab 2 Kings x 15

[b] Bibl. "We are going to greet the sons of the king and the sons of the queen" (or "queen-mother," Heb *g^ebîrāh*, LXX τῆς δυναστευούσης). Presumably the sons (or descendants) of Ahab and Jezebel are meant, but Josephus's correction is quite natural.

[c] Gr Jōnadabos ; bibl. Jehonadab (*Y^ehônādāb*) Scripture adds that he was the son of Rechab (*Rēkāb*)

[d] Unscriptural detail, perhaps derived from Jehu's question, "Is your heart right as my heart is with your heart?"

[e] Scripture says merely that Jehonadab gave Jehu his hand (as a token that his heart was "right with" him).

κυνεῖν, τιμωρήσεται· κάλλιστον δ' εἶναι θεαμάτων
καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ καὶ δικαίῳ κολαζομένους
134 πονηροὺς ἰδεῖν[1] τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἰωνάδαβος
ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἅρμα εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγίνεται.
ἀναζητήσας δὲ πάντας τοὺς Ἀχάβου συγγενεῖς
Ἰηοῦς ἀποκτείνει. βουλόμενος δὲ μηδένα τῶν
ψευδοπροφητῶν μηδ' ἱερέων τῶν Ἀχάβου θεῶν
τὴν τιμωρίαν διαφυγεῖν, ἀπάτῃ καὶ δόλῳ πάντας
135 αὐτοὺς συνέλαβεν· ἀθροίσας γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἔφη
βούλεσθαι διπλασίονας ὧν Ἄχαβος εἰσηγήσατο
θεῶν προσκυνεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἱερεῖς καὶ προ-
φήτας ἠξίου καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν[2] παρεῖναι θυσίας
γὰρ πολυτελεῖς καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιτελεῖν μέλλειν τοῖς
Ἀχάβου θεοῖς τὸν δ' ἀπολειφθέντα τῶν ἱερέων
θανάτῳ ζημιώσειν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ἀχάβου Βαὰλ
136 ἐκαλεῖτο τάξας δὲ ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε ποιή-
σειν τὰς θυσίας διέπεμπεν[3] ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰσραη-
λιτῶν χώραν τοὺς ἄξοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱερεῖς
τοῦ Βαάλ ἐκέλευσε δ' Ἰηοῦς τῷ ἱερεῖ[4] δοῦναι
πᾶσιν ἐνδύματα λαβόντων δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν
οἶκον μετὰ τοῦ φίλου Ἰωναδάβου, μή τις ἐν
αὐτοῖς ἀλλόφυλος εἴη καὶ ξένος ἐρευνῆσαι προσ-
έταξεν· οὐ βούλεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῶν
137 ἀλλότριον παρατυγχάνειν. τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων μὲν

[1] ἰδεῖν om ROM
[2] αὐτῷ RMS. αὐτοῦ O.
[3] διέπεμψεν MSP
[4] τοῖς ἱερεῦσι MSPE et fort Zonaras

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[a] Amplification of Jehu's brief statement, "Come with me and see my zeal for the Lord."

[b] Bibl "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much."

said, the most desirable and pleasant of sights for a good and upright man to see the wicked punished.[a] Being persuaded by these arguments, Jonadab got up into Jehu's chariot and came to Samaria. There Jehu sought out all of Achab's relatives and killed them. Then, resolving that none of the false prophets or priests of Achab's gods should escape punishment, he caught them all by deceit and cunning; having gathered the people together, he told them that he wished to worship twice as many gods as Achab had introduced,[b] and he asked the priests of these gods and their prophets and servants to be present, for, he said, he intended to offer costly and great sacrifices to Achab's gods, and he would punish with death any of the priests who might be absent. Now the god of Achab was called Baal.[c] And so, having set a day on which he intended to offer the sacrifices, Jehu sent men throughout the Israelites' country to bring to him the priests of Baal; he also ordered the (chief) priest to give vestments to all.[d] And, when they had taken them, he went into the temple[e] with his friend Jonadab, and ordered a search to be made that there might be no foreigner nor stranger among them, saying that he did not wish any outsider to be present at their rites.[f] And, when they said that there was no

Jehu has the priests of Baal slain 2 Kings x. 19

[c] *Cf.* § 138 note *d.*

[d] Bibl. "and he said to him who was over the *meltāḥāh* (A.V. "vestry," LXX οἴκου μεσθαάλ, Targum and Jewish tradition "clothes-chest"), Bring forth vestments for all the priests of Baal."

[e] Of Baal.

[f] Bibl. "Search and look out that there be here with you none of the worshippers of the Lord, but the worshippers of Baal only." Josephus evidently thinks that the biblical version of Jehu's stratagem to trap the worshippers of Baal needs an extra twist.

οὐδένα παρεῖναι ξένον, καταρξαμένων δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν περιέστησεν ἔξωθεν[1] ὀγδοήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας, οὓς ᾔδει πιστοτάτους τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, κελεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ψευδοπροφήτας καὶ νῦν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι τιμωρεῖν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ὠλιγωρημένοις, ἀπειλήσας ὑπὲρ τῶν δια-
138 φυγόντων τὰς ἐκείνων ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι[2] ψυχάς. οἱ δὲ τούς τε ἄνδρας ἅπαντας κατέσφαξαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βαὰλ ἐμπρήσαντες ἐκάθηραν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν ξενικῶν ἐθισμῶν[3] τὴν Σαμάρειαν. οὗτος ὁ Βαὰλ Τυρίων ἦν θεός· Ἄχαβος δὲ τῷ πενθερῷ βουλόμενος χαρίσασθαι Ἰθωβάλῳ Τυρίων ὄντι βασιλεῖ καὶ Σιδωνίων ναόν τ' αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ προφήτας ἀπέδειξε καὶ πάσης
139 θρησκείας ἠξίου ἀφανισθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς χρυσᾶς δαμάλεις προσκυνεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ἰηοῦς ἐπέτρεψε ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξαμένῳ καὶ προνοήσαντι τῆς κολάσεως τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου προεῖπεν ἐπὶ τέσσαρας γενεὰς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσειν[4] τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰηοῦν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

140 (vii 1) Ὀθλία δ' ἡ Ἀχάβου θυγάτηρ ἀκούσασα τήν τ' Ἰωράμου τἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν Ὀχοζία

[1] ἔξωθεν om RO
[2] ἀφαιρήσεσθαι MSP et fort Lat.: ἐφαιρήσεσθαι Naber.
[3] θεῶν ROM.
[4] ex Lat (vid.) Hudson βασιλεύειν codd E

[a] Unscriptural detail. The phrase " whom he knew to be most faithful to him " is a conventional one occasionally added by Josephus; here, however, it may have been suggested by the following verse (x 25) in Scripture, " And Jehu said to the runners and *šālîšîm* (A V " guards and

stranger present and began the sacrifices, he placed outside the temple some of his men, eighty in number, whom he knew to be most faithful to him,[a] and commanded them to kill the false prophets and now avenge their fathers' customs which had for so long a time been set at naught, and he threatened that their own lives should be forfeit for any who escaped. So they slew all the men and burnt down the temple of Baal,[b] thus purging Samaria of strange rites.[c] This Baal was the god of the Tyrians, to whom Achab, wishing to please his father-in-law Ithōbalos, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, had built a temple in Samaria and had appointed prophets and honoured him with every manner of cult.[d] When this god had been removed, Jehu permitted the Israelites to bow down before the golden heifers.[e] But, since he had carried out these reforms, and had provided for the punishment of those impious men, God foretold to him through the prophet[f] that his sons should rule over the Israelites for four generations. Such, then, was the state of affairs under Jehu.

(vii. 1) When Othlia,[g] the daughter of Achab, heard of the death of her brother Joram and her son Athaliah (Othlia), the wicked

captains"), Go in and slay them." Josephus evidently considers these men to have been Jehu's picked guard.

[b] Josephus omits the carrying out and burning of the images in the Baal temple (x. 26).

[c] Variant "gods."

[d] *Cf. Ant.* viii. 317 ff. on 1 Kings xvi. 31 ff.

[e] Made by Jeroboam, as Scripture adds (x. 29).

[f] Rabbinic tradition, like Josephus, assumes that it was a prophet (Jonah) who gave God's message to Jehu, while in Scripture (x. 30) God speaks to him directly. It was also Jonah, according to rabbinic tradition (*cf.* Ginzberg iv. 246), whom Elisha had sent to anoint Jehu.

[g] Bibl. Athaliah, *cf.* § 96 note *g*.

τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἐσπούδαζε μηδένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου καταλιπεῖν οἴκου, πᾶν δ' ἐξαφανίσαι τὸ γένος, ὡς
141 ἂν μηδὲ εἷς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἔτι γένοιτο. καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς μὲν ᾤετο διεπράξατο, διεσώθη δὲ εἷς υἱὸς 'Οχοζίου, τρόπῳ δὲ τοιούτῳ τὴν τελευτὴν διέφυγεν· ἦν 'Οχοζίᾳ ὁμοπάτριος ἀδελφὴ 'Ωσαβέθη[1]
142 ὄνομα· ταύτῃ συνῆν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς 'Ιώδας.[2] εἰσελθοῦσα δ' εἰς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τοῖς ἀπεσφαγμένοις τὸν 'Ιώασον (τοῦτο γὰρ προσηγορεύετο τὸ παιδίον ὂν[3] ἐνιαύσιον) ἐγκεκρυμμένον εὑροῦσα μετὰ τῆς τρεφούσης, βαστάσασα μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον ἀπέκλεισε τῶν κλινῶν[4] καὶ λανθάνοντες ἀνέθρεψαν αὐτή τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς 'Ιώδας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔτεσιν ἕξ, οἷς ἐβασίλευσεν 'Οθλία τῶν 'Ιεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν.

143 (2) Τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ κοινολογησάμενός τισιν 'Ιώδας πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑκατοντάρχοις καὶ πείσας[5] αὐτοὺς συνεπιθέσθαι μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τῆς 'Οθλίας ἐγχειρουμένοις, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ περιποιῆσαι,[6] λαβὼν ὅρκους οἷς τὸ ἀδεὲς παρὰ τῶν συνεργούντων βεβαιοῦται τὸ λοιπὸν ἐθάρρει ταῖς κατὰ
144 τῆς 'Οθλίας ἐλπίσιν· οἱ δ' ἄνδρες, οὓς ὁ ἱερεὺς 'Ιώδας κοινωνοὺς τῆς πράξεως παρειλήφει, περιπορευθέντες[7] ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀθροίσαντες καὶ τοὺς τῶν

[1] Niese: 'Ωσαβέθει M· 'Ωσαβεὲθ RO· 'Οσαβεέθη S· 'Οσαβεέθη P: 'Ιωσαβὲθ E. Iosabeth Lat. 'Ιωσαβεθὴ Hudson.
[2] 'Ιώδαος MSP: 'Ιωδάνης E: Iodam Lat.
[3] ὂν add. Niese.
[4] τῶν κλινῶν om. Lat., secl. Ernesti.
[5] συμπείσας MSP.
[6] συμπεριποιῆσαι MSP.
[7] ex Lat. Niese: πορευθέντες codd.

Ochozias and of the destruction of the royal family, she took steps to leave no one of the house of David alive and to extirpate his family, in order that there might never again be a single king of his line. And this plan, as she thought, she carried out, but one son of Ochozias was saved, and this was the way in which he escaped death. Ochozias had a sister by the same father, whose name was Ōsabethē,[a] and who was married to the high priest Jōdas.[b] When she entered the palace and found Joas[c]—this was the name of the child, who was a year old—concealed with his nurse among those who had been slain, she carried him with her to a private bedchamber and shut him up there; and secretly she and her husband brought him up in the temple for six years, during which time Othlia ruled over Jerusalem and the two tribes.

queen of Judah
2 Kings xi. 1;
2 Chron. xxii. 10.

(2) But in the seventh[d] year Jōdas took into his confidence some of the captains of hundreds, five in number,[e] and persuaded them to join in the plot formed against Othlia and to secure the royal power for the child, and, having obtained oaths by which he was assured that in future he would have nothing to fear from the conspirators, he felt hopeful of success in the attempt against Othlia. Then the men whom the priest Jōdas had taken as his partners in the deed went out through the entire country and, having gathered together the priests and Levites therein and

The high priest Jehoiada (Jōdas) plots against Athaliah.
2 Kings xi. 4;
2 Chron. xxiii. 1.

2 Chron. xxiii. 2.

[a] Bibl. 2 Kings Jehosheba (*Y^{e}hôšeba'*), LXX Ἰωσάβεε (*v. l.* Ἰωσάβεθ), Luc. Ἰωσάβεαι; 2 Chron. Jehoshabeath (*Y^{e}hôšab'ath*).

[b] Bibl. Jehoiada (*Y^{e}hôyādā'*), LXX Ἰωδᾶε.

[c] Gr. Jōasos; bibl. Joash (*Yô'āš*) and Jehoash (*Y^{e}hô'āš*), LXX Ἰωάς.

[d] Some LXX MSS. in 2 Chron. have "eighth."

[e] Their names are given in 2 Chron.

φυλῶν προεστηκότας ἧκον ἄγοντες εἰς Ἱεροσό-
145 λυμα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ὁ δὲ πίστιν ᾔτησεν
αὐτοὺς ἔνορκον, ἦ μὴν φυλάξειν ὅπερ ἂν μάθωσιν
ἀπόρρητον παρ' αὐτοῦ, σιωπῆς ἅμα καὶ συμπράξεως
δεόμενον. ὡς δ' ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ λέγειν ὀμωμο-
κότων ἐγένετο, παραγαγὼν ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου
γένους ἔτρεφεν "οὗτος ὑμῖν,[1]" εἶπε, "βασιλεὺς
ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκίας, ἣν ἴστε τὸν θεὸν ἡμῖν προ-
φητεύσαντα βασιλεύσειν ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου.
146 παραινῶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ὑμῶν μοῖραν φυλάττειν
αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην[2] ταῖς πύλαις ἐφ-
εστάναι τοῦ τεμένους ἁπάσαις, ἡ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην
ἐχέτω τὴν τῆς ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φερούσης εἰς τὸ
βασίλειον πύλης φυλακήν· τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος
ἄοπλον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τυγχανέτω· μηδένα δ' εἰσελθεῖν
147 ὁπλίτην ἐάσητε ἢ μόνον ἱερέα." προσδιέταξε δὲ
τούτοις μέρος τι τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουίτας περὶ
αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐσπα-
σμέναις αὐτὸν δορυφοροῦντας, τὸν δὲ τολμήσαντα
παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὡπλισμένον ἀναιρεῖσθαι
παραυτίκα· δείσαντας δὲ μηδὲν παραμεῖναι τῇ
148 φυλακῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ οἱ μὲν οἷς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς

[1] ἡμῖν RO. [2] τετάρτην MSP Lat.

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[a] Variant "fourth." Josephus omits some of the details in the rather obscure biblical passage describing the disposition of the guards. It would seem from this that on the Sabbath, when the guards were changed, there were more men on duty at the temple than at the palace, but that on this occasion Jehoiada planned to have the full strength of the guard stationed at the temple while the palace remained unguarded. The disposition of the three companies of guards according to Scripture was as follows:

(1) 2 Kings "A third part of you that come on the sabbath

the chiefs of the tribes, brought them to the high priest when they returned to Jerusalem. Thereupon he demanded of them a sworn pledge that they would surely guard whatever secret they might hear from him which required equally their silence and their co-operation. And, when they had sworn and it was safe for him to speak, he brought forward the child of David's line whom he had raised, and said, "This is your king from that house, which, as you know, God foretold to us should rule for all time to come. I now advise that a third of your force guard him in the temple, and that another third [a] be stationed at all the gates of the sacred precinct, while the remaining third keeps watch over the gate that opens and leads into the palace. And let the rest of the people stay unarmed in the temple.[b] But allow no soldier to enter, nor anyone but a priest." He also arranged that in addition to these a body of priests and Levites should be with the king himself and with drawn swords serve as his bodyguard and immediately kill anyone who should venture to enter the temple armed; and he told them to fear nothing and remain on guard over the king. So these men followed the

Jehoiada proclaims Joash king 2 Kings xi. 4, 2 Chron. xxiii. 3

and keep the watch of the king's house" (LXX adds "in the gateway"), 2 Chron. "A third part of you that come on the sabbath as (?) priests and Levites, as porters of the threshhold."

(2) 2 Kings "And a third part shall be at the gate of Sur" (LXX "at the gate of roads"), 2 Chron. "A third part shall be at the king's house."

(3) 2 Kings "And a third part at the gate behind the guard" (lit. "runners"), 2 Chron. "And a third part at the gate of the foundation" (LXX "middle gate").

[b] This refers to a fourth division, apparently corresponding to "All the people in the courts of the house of the Lord" in 2 Chron. xxiii. 5.

συνεβούλευσεν, τούτοις πεισθέντες ἔργῳ τὴν προ-
αίρεσιν ἐδήλουν ἀνοίξας δὲ Ἰώδας τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
ὁπλοθήκην, ἣν Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, διεμέρισε
τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ἅμα καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις
ἅπανθ᾿ ὅσ᾿ εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ δόρατά τε καὶ φαρέτρας
καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον εἶδος ὅπλου κατέλαβε, καὶ καθ-
ωπλισμένους ἔστησεν ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συν-
αψαμένους τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς οὐ
149 προσήκουσιν οὕτως ἀποτειχίσοντας συναγαγόντες
δὲ τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τὸν
στέφανον τὸν βασιλικόν, καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ χρίσας
Ἰώδας ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος χαῖρον καὶ
κροταλίζον ἐβόα σώζεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα
150 (3) Τοῦ δὲ θορύβου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων Ὀθλία
παρ᾿ ἐλπίδας ἀκούσασα, τεταραγμένη σφόδρα τῇ
διανοίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐξεπήδησε στρατιᾶς ἐκ τοῦ
βασιλείου. καὶ παραγενομένην εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτὴν
οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἰσδέχονται, τοὺς δ᾿ ἑπομένους ὁπλίτας
εἶρξαν εἰσελθεῖν οἱ περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὑπὸ
151 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦτο προστεταγμένων. ἰδοῦσα δὲ
Ὀθλία τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς[1] ἑστῶτα καὶ
τὸν βασιλικὸν περικείμενον[2] στέφανον περιρρηξα-

[1] στήλης RO tribunal Lat
[2] βασιλικὸν περικείμενον] βασίλειον ἐπικείμενον RO.

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[a] So Luc. in 2 Kings, Heb 2 Kings "spears and shields" (*šᵉlāṭîm*), 2 Chron "spears and shields (*māginnôth*) and *šᵉlāṭîm* (shields?)", LXX 2 Kings σειρομάστας καὶ τρισσούς "barbed spears and threefolds" (? reading *šališîm* for *šᵉlāṭîm*), 2 Chron. μαχαίρας καὶ θυρεοὺς καὶ ὅπλα "swords and long shields and arms"; Luc. 2 Chron. δόρατα καὶ ἀσπίδας "spears and round shields" For φάρετραι "quivers" as a rendering of *šᵉlāṭîm* "shields" (?) *cf* *Ant.* vii. 104 note *b*, also *Ant.* viii 259 note *a*

counsel which the high priest gave them, and made plain their intentions by their deeds Then Jōdas opened the armoury in the temple, which David had built, and distributed to the captains of hundreds and, at the same time, to the priests and Levites all the spears and quivers [a] he found in it and whatever other kind of weapon he came upon, and, when they were armed, he placed them in a circle round the temple with their hands joined [b] so as to bar entrance to any who did not belong there Then they set the boy in their midst and placed the royal crown [c] on his head, and Jōdas, having anointed him with oil, proclaimed him king, whereupon the multitude with rejoicing and clapping of hands cried out, " Long live the king ! "

Jehoiada has Athaliah put to death 2 Kings xi 13, 2 Chron xxiii 12

(3) When Othlia heard the tumult and the acclamations, which were so unexpected, she was thrown into great confusion of mind, and jumped up and ran out of the palace with her private force of soldiers And, when she came to the temple, the priests admitted her, but the armed men accompanying her were prevented from entering by those stationed around in a circle, who had been given this order by the high priest [d] But Othlia saw the boy standing on the platform [e] and wearing the royal crown, and, rending

[b] Bibl " and the guard stood every man with his weapons in his hand, from the right shoulder (A V. " corner ") of the temple to the left shoulder of the temple," etc Josephus seems to have misunderstood the biblical text

[c] Bibl " the crown (*nēzer*) and the testimony," LXX 2 Kings τὸ ἔζερ καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, Luc τὸ ἁγίασμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον, LXX 2 Chron τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια

[d] Unscriptural details

[e] Lit. " stage ", variant " pillar " as in Scripture (except LXX 2 Chron στάσεως) It is not clear from the Heb, however, whether Joash stood *on* the pillar (so LXX) or *by* the pillar (so Jewish tradition and A.V)

μένη καὶ δεινὸν ἀνακραγοῦσα φονεύειν[1] ἐκέλευε τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελέσθαι σπουδάσαντα Ἰώδας δὲ καλέσας τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντας[2] τὴν Ὀθλίαν εἰς τὴν φάραγγα τὴν Κεδρῶνος ἀνελεῖν
152 αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ· μὴ γὰρ βούλεσθαι μιᾶναι τὸ ἱερόν, αὐτόθι τὴν ἀλιτήριον τιμωρησάμενον[3] προσέταξε δὲ κἂν βοηθῶν τις προσέλθῃ[4] κἀκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν. ἐλλαβόμενοι τοίνυν τῆς Ὀθλίας οἱ προστεταγμένοι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τῶν ἡμιόνων τοῦ βασιλέως ἤγαγον κἀκεῖ διεχρήσαντο

153 (4) Ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀθλίαν τοῦτον ἐστρατηγήθη τὸν τρόπον, συγκαλέσας τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁ Ἰώδας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξώρκωσεν εὐνοεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρχῆς ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τιμήσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ μὴ παραβῆναι τοὺς Μωυσέος[5]
154 νόμους δοῦναι πίστιν ἠνάγκασε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσδραμόντες τὸν τοῦ Βαὰλ οἶκον, ὃν Ὀθλία τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰώραμος κατεσκεύασεν ἐφ' ὕβρει μὲν τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τιμῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχάβου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτοῦ
155 Μάθαν[6] ἀπέκτειναν. τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυ-

[1] E φονεύσειν codd [2] ἀγαγόντας MP.
[3] cod Vat ap Hudson· τιμωρησαμένων rell
[4] Dindorf προσέλθοι codd
[5] Naber· Μωσῆους RO Μωσέως M: Μωυσέως SPE· Mosaeos Lat Μωυσείους Niese.
[6] ex Lat Niese: Νάθαν RO Μααθὰν MSP

her garments and with a fearful outcry, she commanded her men to take the life of the man who had plotted against her and had worked to deprive her of the royal power.[a] Thereupon Jōdas called the captains of hundreds and commanded them to lead Othlia away to the valley of Kedron[b] and there put her to death, saying that he did not wish to defile the temple by punishing the guilty wretch on the spot. He also ordered them to put to death anyone who might come forward to help her. Accordingly those who had been ordered to put Othlia to death took hold of her and led her to the gate of the king's mules,[c] where they made an end of her.

(4) When the fate of Othlia had skilfully been determined in this manner, Jōdas summoned the people and the soldiers to the temple and made them take an oath to be loyal to the king and watch over his safety and the continuance of his rule. He then compelled the king himself to honour God and give his pledge not to transgress the laws of Moses. And after that they ran to the temple of Baal, which Othlia and her husband Joram had built in contempt of the nation's God and in honour of the god of Achab,[d] and razed it to the ground and killed Mathan[e] who held the office of priest of Baal. The care and watch of

Jehoiada administers oaths to people and king. 2 Kings xi. 17; 2 Chron. xxiii. 16

2 Chron. xxiii. 18

[a] Scripture says merely, "And Athaliah rent her clothes and cried, Conspiracy, Conspiracy!" (A.V. "Treason, Treason").

[b] Bibl. "to within the *śᵉdērôth*" (? = "between the rows"; A.V. "without the ranges"), LXX 2 Kings ἔσωθεν τῶν σαδηρώθ, 2 Chron. ἐκτὸς τοῦ οἴκου "outside the temple." Jewish commentators explain *śᵉdērôth* to mean the "ranks" of the guard. "Kedron" seems to be based on a corruption of *śᵉdērôth* or σαδηρώθ.

[c] Bibl. "horses."

[d] *Cf.* § 138.

[e] So most LXX MSS (*v.ll.* Μαγθάν, Ματθάν κτλ.), bibl. Mattan.

λακὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰώδας κατὰ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως διάταξιν, κελεύσας αὐτοὺς δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφέρειν τὰς νενομισμένας τῶν ὁλοκαυτώσεων θυσίας καὶ θυμιᾶν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας τῶν Ληουιτῶν καὶ πυλωροὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ τεμένους, ὡς μηδένα μεμιασμένον παριέναι λανθάνοντα

156 (5) Τούτων δ' ἕκαστα διατάξας, μετὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραλαβὼν ἄγει τὸν Ἰώασον εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ καθίσαντος ἐπὶ[1] τὸν βασιλικὸν θρόνον ἐπευφήμησέ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίαν τραπέντες ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑώρτασαν ἡμέρας ἡ μέντοι γε πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν Ὀθλίαν ἀποθανεῖν ἡσυχίαν
157 ἤγαγεν ἦν δὲ Ἰώασος ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ἐτῶν ἑπτά, μήτηρ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα Σαβία πατρίδος δὲ Βηρσαβεέ πολλὴν δ' ἐποιήσατο τῶν νομίμων[2] φυλακὴν καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν φιλοτιμίαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν
158 Ἰώδας ἐβίωσεν. ἔγημε δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας δύο παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν δόντος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἄρρενες αὐτῷ καὶ θήλειαι παῖδες ἐγένοντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάσου, ὡς τὴν τῆς Ὀθλίας ἐπιβουλὴν διέφυγε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἐν τούτοις δεδηλώκαμεν

[1] εἰς MSP. [2] νόμων MSP Lat

[a] Bibl "offices" (*cf.* LXX 2 Chron. ἔργα "duties"), LXX 2 Kings ἐπισκόπους "supervisors," Luc. τὴν ἐπισκοπήν "supervision"

[b] So 2 Chron, 2 Kings omits "priests and Levites" as well as the details following

the temple[a] Jōdas committed to the priests and Levites in accordance with the ordinance of King David,[b] and ordered them to offer the customary sacrifice of the whole burnt-offerings twice a day and burn incense[c] in conformity with the law. He also appointed some of the Levites and porters to guard the sacred precinct, that no impure person might enter it unseen.

(5) When he had arranged these several matters, he and the captains of hundreds and the officers and all the people conducted Joas from the temple to the palace; and, when he had taken his seat on the royal throne, the multitude acclaimed him with shouts, and then turned to feasting and celebrated for many days. The city, on the other hand, had been calm at the death of Othlia. Now Joas was seven years old when he took over the kingship, and his mother's name was Sabia,[d] her birthplace being Bērsabee.[e] He kept strict observance of the ordinances and was zealous in the worship of God all the time that Jōdas lived.[f] And, when he came of age, he married two women whom the high priest had given him.[g] This much, then, concerning King Joas and how he escaped the plot of Othlia and succeeded to the throne is all that we have to relate at this point.

The reign of Joash 2 Kings xi. 19; 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

[c] Bibl. "offer up . . . with rejoicing and song."

[d] So Luc. (vid.), bibl. Zibiah (*Ṣibyāh*), LXX 'Αβιά.

[e] Bibl. Beersheba, *cf. Ant.* viii. 348 note *e*.

[f] Josephus omits the scriptural detail (2 Kings xii. 3) that Joash did not remove the idolatrous high-places.

[g] The Heb. of 2 Chron. xxiv. 3 says, "And Jehoiada married to him (*lô*) two wives," presumably meaning Joash by "him," as Josephus renders; LXX, however, takes *lô* to mean "himself," καὶ ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκας δύο, with which interpretation some Jewish commentators agree.

159 (viii 1) Ἀζάηλος δ' ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς
πολεμῶν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν
Ἰηοῦ διέφθειρε τῆς πέραν Ἰορδάνου χώρας τὰ πρὸς
τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν Ῥουβηνιτῶν καὶ Γαδιτῶν[1] καὶ
Μανασσιτῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν καὶ Βατα-
ναίαν, πυρπολῶν πάντα καὶ διαρπάζων καὶ τοῖς
160 εἰς χεῖρας ἀπαντῶσι βίαν προσφέρων· οὐ γὰρ
ἔφθη αὐτὸν Ἰηοῦς ἀμύνασθαι κακοῦντα τὴν χώραν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπερόπτης γενόμενος
καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς ὁσίας καὶ τῶν νόμων
ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἔτη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἑπτὰ
καὶ εἴκοσι. ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῆς ἀρχῆς
διάδοχον Ἰώαζον[2] τὸν υἱὸν καταλιπών.
161 (2) Τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν[3] βασιλέα Ἰώασον
ὁρμή τις ἔλαβε τὸν ναὸν ἀνακαινίσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ
τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἰώδαν εἰς ἅπασαν ἐκέλευσε
πέμψαι τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ληουίτας καὶ ἱερέας αἰτή-
σοντας ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς ἡμίσικλον ἀργύρου
εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνανέωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ κατα-
λυθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰωράμου καὶ Ὀθλίας καὶ τῶν
162 παίδων αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ
ἐποίησε συνεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς εὐγνωμόνως προήσεται[4]
τἀργύριον, τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς βασιλείας
ἔτει μεταπεμψαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόν τε καὶ
Ληουίτας καὶ ὡς παρακούσαντας ὧν προσέταξεν

[1] ed. pr Lat : Γαλα(α)διτῶν codd.
[2] Iochazan Lat.
[3] Ἱεροσολύμων MSP Lat.
[4] εὐγνωμόνως προήσεται E: προεῖται RO προῆται M πρόηται SP: conferret Lat

[a] Amplification of Scripture.
[b] Unscriptural detail

Hazael (Azaēlos) of Syria invades Trans-jordan 1 Kings x 32.

(viii 1) Now Azaēlos, the king of Syria, made war on the Israelites and their king Jehu, and ravaged the eastern parts of the country across the Jordan belonging to the Reubenites and Gadites and Manassites, and also Galaaditis and Batanaia, spreading fire everywhere and plundering everything and inflicting violence on all who fell into his hands.[a] For Jehu had not been prompt to oppose him when he began to devastate the country,[b] but had become careless of his duties toward the Deity and contemptuous of holiness and the laws; he died after ruling over the Israelites for twenty-seven years, and was buried in Samaria, after leaving his son Jōazos[c] as his successor on the throne.

Death of Jehu 2 Kings x 35

Joash renovates the temple 2 Kings xii 4 (Heb 5); 2 Chron xxiv 4

(2) As for Joas, the king of Jerusalem, he was seized by a strong desire to renovate the temple of God, and, summoning the high priest Jōdas,[d] he commanded him to send the Levites and priests throughout the entire country to ask half a shekel of silver[e] for each person for the repairing and renovation of the temple, which had been left crumbling[f] by Joram and Othlia and her sons. The high priest, however, did not do this, realizing that no one would be well affected enough to offer the money,[g] but, when in the twenty-third year of his reign the king summoned him and the Levites and, after charging them

[c] Bibl. Jehoahaz (*Yehô'āhāz*), LXX Ἰωαχάς (*v.l.* Ἰωαχάζ), Luc. Ἰωχάς.

[d] In Scripture, Joash addresses the priests directly.

[e] The sum is not specified in Scripture, but in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6 the "tax (A.V. "collection") of Moses" is mentioned, meaning the half-shekel temple tax prescribed in Ex. xxx. 13 and still in force in Josephus's time (at least up to A.D. 70).

[f] Lit. "broken down," *cf.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 7 "For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked woman, had broken down the house of God."

[g] Unscriptural detail.

αἰτιωμένου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τοῦ ναοῦ, στρατηγήματι χρῆται πρὸς τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν χρημάτων ὁ ἀρχ-
163 ιερεὺς ᾧ τὸ πλῆθος ἡδέως ἔσχε τοιούτῳ· ξύλινον κατασκευάσας θησαυρὸν καὶ κλείσας πανταχόθεν ὀπὴν ἐν[1] αὐτῷ μίαν ἤνοιξεν· ἔπειτα θεὶς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἕκαστον ὅσον βούλεται βάλλειν[2] εἰς αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ· πρὸς τοῦτο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὖ διετέθη, καὶ πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν φιλο-
164 τιμούμενοι καὶ συνεισφέροντες ἤθροισαν. κενοῦντες δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ παρόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ συνειλεγμένον ὅ τε γραμματεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν γαζοφυλακείων ἔπειτ᾿ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐτίθεσαν τόπον. καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἐποίουν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας. ὡς δ᾿ ἀποχρώντως τὸ πλῆθος ἐδόκει βαλεῖν[3] τῶν χρημάτων, ἔπεμψαν μισθούμενοι λατόμους καὶ οἰκοδόμους ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλα μεγάλα καὶ τῆς καλλίστης
165 ὕλης. ἐπισκευασθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ, τὸν ὑπολειφθέντα χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον (οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ ἦν) εἴς τε κρατῆρας καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σκεύη κατεχρήσαντο, θυσίαις τε πολυτελέσιν ὁσημέραι τὸν βωμὸν πιαίνοντες διετέλουν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφ᾿ ὅσον Ἰώδας χρόνον ἔζη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐτύγχανε σπουδῆς.

166 (3) Ὡς δ᾿ ἐτελεύτησεν οὗτος ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δίκαιος δὲ καὶ πάντα χρηστὸς γενόμενος, ἐτάφη δ᾿ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅτι τῷ Δαυίδου γένει τὴν βασιλείαν

[1] ἐν om ROM [2] βαλεῖν cod. Vat ap Hudson E
[3] ἀποχρώντως . . . βαλεῖν] ἀποχρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐδόκει RO

with having disobeyed his orders, commanded them in future to look after the repair of the temple, the high priest employed the following device for collecting the money, which the people willingly accepted: he made a wooden chest and, having closed it on all sides, made a single opening in it. Then he placed it in the temple beside the altar and told everyone to throw into it, through the opening, as much as he wished, for the repair of the temple.[a] To this request all the people were well disposed, and they collected much silver and gold, vying with one another in bringing it in. Then, when the scribe and priest of the treasury had emptied the chest and in the presence of the king had counted the sum that had been collected, they put the chest back in the same place. And this they would do every day. When the people had put in what seemed a sufficient amount of money, the high priest Jōdas and King Joas sent and hired stone-cutters and carpenters, and ordered great timbers of the finest wood. And, when the temple had been repaired, they spent the money that was left over—it was no small amount—for bowls and pitchers and cups and other vessels, and they continued day by day to enrich the altar with costly sacrifices.[b] Thus, so long as Jōdas lived, these things were done with the required care.

Death of Jehoiada (Jōdas) and degeneration of Joash

(3) But, after Jōdas died at the age of one hundred and thirty years, having been an upright man and good in all ways, and was buried in the royal sepulchres at Jerusalem because he had restored the kingdom to

[a] So 2 Chron.; in 2 Kings it is the priests who take the money from the people and put it in the box.

[b] So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings it was expressly forbidden to use the money for temple vessels, etc.

ἀνεκτήσατο, προέδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος τὴν
167 ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν συνδιεφθάρησαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πλήθους πρωτεύοντες, ὥστε πλημμελεῖν εἰς τὰ δίκαια καὶ νενομισμένα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἶναι δυσχεράνας δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πέμπει τοὺς προφήτας διαμαρτυρησομένους τε τὰ πραττό-
168 μενα καὶ παύσοντας τῆς πονηρίας αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἰσχυρὸν ἔρωτα καὶ δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρα ταύτης εἶχον, ὡς μήτε οἷς οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐξυβρίσαντες εἰς τὰ νόμιμα πανοικὶ κολασθέντες ἔπαθον, μήθ' οἷς οἱ προφῆται προύλεγον πεισθέντες μετανοῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρανομήσαντες ἐτράπησαν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰώδα λίθοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε βληθέντα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσιῶν
169 αὐτοῦ λαθόμενος, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ προφητεύειν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαντος στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν, καὶ τιμωρίαν ὅτι μεγάλην ὑφέξουσι μὴ πειθόμενοι προύλεγε τελευτῶν μέντοι Ζαχαρίας μάρτυρα καὶ δικαστὴν ὧν ἔπασχε τὸν θεὸν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίας καὶ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν Ἰωάσῳ πικρῶς καὶ βιαίως ἀπολλύμενος.

170 (4) Ἔδωκε μέντοι γ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκην ὧν παρηνόμησεν· ἐμβαλόντος γὰρ Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Γίτταν καταστρεψαμένου καὶ λεηλατήσαντος καὶ

the line of David, King Joas proved faithless in the service of God. And together with him were corrupted the leaders of the people so that they transgressed against what was right and held among them to be the highest good. Thereupon God, being displeased at this change of heart in the king and the others, sent the prophets to protest solemnly against their actions and to make them leave off their wrongdoing. But they indeed were seized with so strong a love and so terrible a desire for it that, heeding neither the punishment which those before them had suffered together with all their house for outraging the ordinances, nor what the prophets had foretold, they refused to repent and turn back from the lawless course which they had taken. Moreover the king even ordered Zacharias,[a] the son of the high priest Jōdas, to be stoned to death in the temple, unmindful of the good works of his father, because, when God appointed him to prophesy, he stood in the midst of the people and counselled both them and the king to do right, and warned them that they would suffer heavy punishment if they disobeyed. As he died, however, Zacharias made God the witness and judge of what he had suffered in being so cruelly and violently put to death in return for his good counsel and for all that his father had done for Joas.[b]

2 Chron. xxiv. 15

(4) It was not long, however, before the king paid the penalty for his unlawful acts. For Azaēlos, the king of Syria, invaded his country and, after subduing Gitta[c] and despoiling it, he prepared to march

Joash pays tribute to Hazael. 2 Kings xii. 17 (Heb. 18);

[a] So most LXX MSS. (*v.l.* Ἀζαρίαν); bibl. Zechariah (*Zᵉkaryāh*).

[b] Bibl. "And when he died, he said, The Lord look upon it and require it" (LXX "judge").

[c] Bibl. Gath, LXX Γέθ.

μέλλοντος[1] ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατεύειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα,
φοβηθεὶς ὁ Ἰώασος πάντας ἐκκενώσας τοὺς τοῦ
θεοῦ θησαυροὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλείων[2] καὶ τὰ
ἀναθήματα καθελὼν ἔπεμψε τῷ Σύρῳ, τούτοις
ὠνούμενος τὸ μὴ πολιορκηθῆναι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν
171 περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τῇ τῶν χρημάτων
ὑπερβολῇ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν[3] ἐπὶ τὰ
Ἱεροσόλυμα νόσῳ μέντοι χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν ὁ
Ἰώασος, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων οἳ τὸν Ζα-
χαρίου[4] θάνατον ἐκδικοῦντες τοῦ Ἰώδα παιδὸς ἐπ-
εβούλευσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, διεφθάρη πρὸς αὐτῶν· καὶ
172 θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς θήκαις
δὲ τῶν προγόνων, ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος ἐβίωσε δ᾽
ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν
αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Ἀμασίας ὁ παῖς
173 (5) Εἰκοστῷ δὲ καὶ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας
παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰώαζος[5]
ὁ τοῦ Ἰηοῦ υἱὸς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν
ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς
μιμητὴς γενόμενος, ἀσεβήσας δ᾽ ὅσα καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι
174 τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσαντες ἐταπείνωσε δ᾽ αὐτὸν
καὶ συνέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης δυνάμεως ὁ τῶν
Σύρων βασιλεὺς εἰς ὁπλίτας μυρίους καὶ πεντή-
κοντα ἱππεῖς, στρατεύσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πόλεις

[1] *καὶ μέλλοντος* ex Lat add. Naber.
[2] *βασιλέων* MSPE.
[3] *οὐκ ἐπήγαγεν*] *οὐκέτ᾽ ἤγαγεν* RO.
[4] *οἳ τὸν* Ζαχαρίου] *τοῦ* Ζαχαρίου *οἱ τὸν* M *τὸν* (*τῶν* S²) Ζαχαρίου *οἳ τὸν* SP
[5] Ἰωάζας ME · Ἰωζᾶς SP (Ἰώχαζος infra) Iocha Lat.

[a] Variant "kings" These details are from 2 Kings; 2 Chron omits them.

2 Chron xxiv 23

against him to Jerusalem, Joas, fearing this, emptied all the treasuries of God and of the palace [a] and, taking down the dedicatory offerings, sent them to the Syrian to buy himself off with these from being besieged and endangering his entire power. Accordingly the other, being persuaded by the very large amount of money, did not lead his army against Jerusalem.

Death of Joash 2 Kings xii 20 (Heb 21); 2 Chron xxiv 25

But Joas, being stricken by a very severe illness,[b] was attacked by some of his friends,[c] who had plotted against the king to avenge the death of Zacharias, the son of Jōdas, and was done to death by them. And, though he was buried in Jerusalem, it was not in the sepulchres of his forefathers,[d] because of his impiety. He had lived forty-seven years, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Amasias.[e]

Jehoahaz (Jōazos) of Israel is defeated by the Syrians 2 Kings xiii 1

(5) In the twenty-first [f] year of the reign of Joas, the government of the Israelites was taken over at Samaria by Jōazos,[g] the son of Jehu, and he held it seventeen years; although he was no imitator of his father, he committed as many impieties as did the first (kings) who held God in contempt. But the king of Syria humbled him and reduced his force from the very great one it was to ten thousand foot-soldiers and fifty horsemen [h] when he marched against him

[b] Joash's illness is mentioned in 2 Chron., but not in 2 Kings.

[c] Variant "the friends of Zacharias." According to Scripture they were friends of the king. Their names are given in 2 Chron.

[d] So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings he was buried "with his fathers."

[e] So LXX 2 Chron. (2 Kings Ἀμεσσείας), bibl. Amaziah (*'Amasyāh*).

[f] Bibl. 23rd.

[g] Bibl. Jehoahaz, *cf.* § 160 note *c*.

[h] Josephus omits the ten chariots mentioned in Scripture.

τε μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ἀφελόμενος καὶ
175 τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρας. ταῦτα δ' ἔπαθεν
ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς[1] κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου
προφητείαν, ὅτε Ἀζάηλον βασιλεύσειν προεῖπε
τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν
δεσπότην ὢν δὲ ἐν ἀπόροις οὕτω κακοῖς Ἰώαζος
ἐπὶ δέησιν καὶ ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ κατέφυγε, ῥύ-
σασθαι τῶν Ἀζαήλου χειρῶν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν
176 καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς
καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ὡς ἀρετὴν[2] ἀποδεχόμενος, καὶ
νουθετεῖν μᾶλλον τοὺς δυναμένους, τελέως μὴ
ἀπολλύειν δοκοῦν αὐτῷ, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἄδειαν εἰρήνης δ' ἡ
χώρα λαβομένη ἀνέδραμέ τε πάλιν εἰς τὴν προ-
τέραν κατάστασιν καὶ εὐθήνησε
177 (6) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωάζου τελευτὴν ἐκδέχεται τὴν
ἀρχὴν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰώασος ἕβδομον ἤδη καὶ
τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύοντος Ἰωάσου τῆς Ἰούδα
φυλῆς, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὗτος ὁ Ἰώασος ἐν
Σαμαρείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν
αὐτὴν εἶχε προσηγορίαν τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν
βασιλεῖ) καὶ κατέσχεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑκκαίδεκα.
178 ἀγαθὸς δ' ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν φύσιν
κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου
γηραιοῦ μὲν ἤδη τυγχάνοντος εἰς δὲ νόσον ἐμ-
πεπτωκότος ἧκεν ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς
179 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκεψόμενος. καταλαβὼν δ' αὐτὸν ἐν
ἐσχάτοις ὄντα κλαίειν ἤρξατο βλέποντος αὐτοῦ[3]
καὶ ποτνιᾶσθαι καὶ πατέρα τε ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ ὅπλον·
δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ μηδέποτε χρήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς

[1] βασιλεὺς SP [2] ἀρίστην MSP.
[3] βλέποντος αὐτοῦ om M αὐτοῦ om RO.

and took from him many great cities[a] and destroyed his army. These misfortunes the Israelite people[b] suffered in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha, who had foretold that Azaēlos would kill his master and become king of Syria and Damascus.[c] But Jōazos, being helpless before such great difficulties, had recourse to prayer and supplication to God and begged Him to save him from the hands of Azaēlos and not suffer him to fall into his power. Thereupon God accepted his repentance as a virtue and, because He saw fit rather to admonish the powerful and not completely destroy them, gave him security from war and its dangers. And so, when the country had obtained peace, it was restored to its former condition and began to flourish.[d]

Jehoahaz is succeeded by Joash. 2 Kings xiii. 9.

(6) After the death of Jōazos, the royal power came to his son Joas.[e] In the thirty-seventh year of Joas's reign over the tribe of Judah, this Joas—he had the same name as the king of Jerusalem—took over the government of the Israelites at Samaria and held it for sixteen years. He was a good man and in no way like his father in character.[f] Now about this time the prophet Elisha, who was now an old man, fell ill, and the Israelite king came to visit him. But, finding him near his end, he began to lament, as Elisha looked on, and to wail and call him "Father" and "armour."[g] Because of him, he said, they had

Elisha, dying, prophesies victory over the Syrians. 2 Kings xiii. 14.

[a] Unscriptural detail.

[b] Variant "king."

[c] Cf. §§ 91 ff.

[d] The foregoing (from "Thereupon God accepted his repentance") is an amplification of 2 Kings xiii. 23 (rather than of xiii. 5).

[e] Bibl. Jehoash (*Yehô'aš*) or Joash (*Yô'aš*), LXX Ἰωάς.

[f] Bibl. "he did evil in the sight of the Lord."

[g] Bibl. "O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel and its horsemen."

ἐχθροὺς ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείνου προφητείαις
ἀμαχητὶ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων νῦν δ' ἀπιέναι[1]
μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν, καταλείπειν[2] δ' ἐξωπλισμένον[3]
180 τοῖς Σύροις καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολεμίοις οὐδ'
αὐτῷ τοίνυν ζῆν ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς
ἔχειν συνεξορμᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ συναπαίρειν ἐκ[4] τοῦ
βίου ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενον Ἐλισσαῖος παρεμυθεῖτο
τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τόξον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθὲν
ἐντεῖναι τοῦτο ποιήσαντος οὖν εὐτρεπὲς τοῦ βασι-
λέως τὸ τόξον, ἐπιλαβόμενος[5] τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ
181 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν τοξεύειν. τρία βέλη δ' αὐτοῦ
προεμένου εἶτα δ' ἀναπαυσαμένου "πλείω μέν,"
εἶπεν, "ἀφεὶς ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἂν τὴν τῶν Σύρων βασι-
λείαν ἐξεῖλες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τρισὶν ἠρκέσθης μόνοις,
τοσαύταις καὶ μάχαις κρατήσεις συμβαλὼν τοῖς
Σύροις, ἵνα τὴν χώραν ἣν ἀπέτεμον τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς
ἀνακτήσῃ" καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ' ἀκούσας
182 ἀπηλλάγη μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης
ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαβόητος καὶ
φανερῶς σπουδασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμαστὰ γὰρ
καὶ παράδοξα διὰ τῆς προφητείας ἐπεδείξατο ἔργα
καὶ μνήμης λαμπρᾶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀξιω-
θέντα ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ
183 οἵας εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν οὕτω θεοφιλῆ μεταλαβεῖν. συνέβη
δὲ καὶ τότε, λῃστῶν τινων ῥιψάντων εἰς τὸν Ἐλισ-
σαίου τάφον ὃν ἦσαν ἀνῃρηκότες, τὸν νεκρὸν τῷ

[1] Cocceji ἀπεῖναι codd
[2] Bekker καταλιπεῖν codd.
[3] ἐξωπλισμένοις (M)SP
[4] ἐκ om MSP.
[5] ἐπιλαβόμενον RMSP

never had to use arms against the foe, but through his prophecies they had overcome the enemy without a battle. But now he was departing this life and leaving him unarmed[a] before the Syrians and the enemies under them. It was, therefore, no longer safe for him to live, but he would do best to join him in death and depart this life together with him.[b] As the king was bemoaning in these words, Elisha comforted him and told him to have a bow brought to him and to bend it: when the king had made the bow ready, the prophet took hold of his hands and bade him shoot. He then let fly three arrows and ceased, whereupon the prophet said, "If you had sent more arrows, you would have destroyed the kingdom of Syria to its foundations, but, since you were satisfied with only three, you shall meet the Syrians in as many battles and defeat them, that you may recover the territory which they cut off from your father's possessions." And the king, having heard these words, departed. But not long afterward the prophet died; he was a man renowned for righteousness and one manifestly held in honour by God; for through his prophetic power he performed astounding and marvellous deeds, which were held as a glorious memory by the Hebrews. He was then given a magnificent burial, such as it was fitting for one so dear to God to receive.[c] Now it happened just at that time that some robbers threw into the grave of Elisha a man whom they had

Death of Elisha. 2 Kings xiii. 20.

[a] Variant "leaving him to the fully armed Syrians."

[b] The last three sentences are an addition to Scripture, to explain the curious epithets given to Elisha by the king. The Targum amplifies similarly.

[c] The magnificence of the burial is an unscriptural detail.

σώματι αὐτοῦ προσκολληθέντα ἀναζωπυρῆσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ζῶν τε ὅσα προεῖπε καὶ ὡς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι δύναμιν εἶχε θείαν, ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν.

184 (7) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως Ἀζαήλου εἰς Ἄδαδον[1] τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία παραγίνεται πρὸς τοῦτον[2] συνάπτει πόλεμον Ἰώασος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν καὶ ὅσας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀζάηλος πόλεις καὶ
185 κώμας τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείας παρέλαβε τοῦτο μέντοι κατὰ τὴν Ἐλισσαίου προφητείαν ἐγένετο ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη καὶ Ἰώασον ἀποθανεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ κηδεύεται, καθῆκε δὲ εἰς Ἱεροβόαμον[3] ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ

186 (ix. 1) Δευτέρῳ δ᾽ ἔτει τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμασίας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ὢν Ἰωάδης[4] τοὔνομα πολίτιδος δὲ τὸ γένος θαυμαστῶς δὲ τοῦ δικαίου προυνόει καὶ ταῦτα νέος ὤν. παρελθὼν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγνω δεῖν πρῶτον Ἰωάσῳ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς
187 ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ φίλους κολάσαι καὶ τούτους μὲν συλλαβὼν ἅπαντας ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἀκόλουθα ποιῶν τοῖς

[1] Hudson: Ἄδδαν RO Lat Ἀνδᾶν M. Βέραν P· Ἀνβερὰν S· Ἀδαὰν E.
[2] ὃν cod. Vat ap Hudson
[3] Cod Vat ap. Hudson: Ἰώασον ROMS Ἰώνασον P: Ἰέσωζον E Gessoban vel Iesoban codd. Lat
[4] Ἰουδᾶ$^{\delta'}$ M: Ἰωδαδὶς S· Ἰωδαδῆς P: Ioadin Lat.

[a] According to Scripture the band of Moabite robbers surprised some Israelites who were burying a man, and these

murdered,[a] and, when the corpse came into contact with his body, it was restored to life. This much, then, concerning Elisha, both as to what he foretold in his lifetime and how after death he still had divine power, we have now related.

Jehoash (Joas) of Israel defeats Ben-hadad (Adados) of Syria 2 Kings xiii. 24

(7) On the death of Azaēlos, the king of Syria, the kingship came to his son Adados.[b] Against him a war was begun by Joas, the Israelite king, who defeated him in three battles and got back from him all the territory which his father Azaēlos had taken from the Israelite kingdom. This, moreover, came about in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha.

Jehoash is succeeded by Jeroboam. 2 Kings xiii. 13

And, when the time came for Joas to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the royal power fell to his son Jeroboam.

Amaziah (Amasias) of Judah 2 Kings xiv. 1, 2 Chron. xxv. 1.

(ix. 1) In the second year of the reign of Joas over Israel, Amasias[c] began to reign over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem; the name of his mother, a native of that city, was Jōadē.[d] Now he was remarkably observant of justice, even though a youth. When he came into office and held power he decided first to avenge his father Joas and to punish his friends who had laid violent hands on him; and, having seized them, he put them all to death, but did no harm to their children, for he was acting in accordance with

in terror threw the corpse into Elisha's grave. The Heb. text (2 Kings xiii. 20-21), however, is not clear and might seem to mean, as Josephus thought, that it was the robbers who threw the corpse of a man whom they had murdered into Elisha's grave.

[b] Bibl. Ben-hadad, LXX υἱὸς Ἀδέρ; he was the third of that name. On the name *cf. Ant.* viii. 363 note *e*.

[c] Bibl. Amaziah, *cf.* § 172 note *e*.

[d] Bibl. Jehoadan (*Yᵉhoʿaddayn*, 2 Chron. *-ān*), LXX 2 Kings Ἰωαδείμ (*v.l.* Ἰωδείν κτλ.), 2 Chron. Ἰωναά (*v.l.* Ἰωαδέν κτλ.).

Μωυσέος νόμοις, ὃς οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε διὰ πατέρων
188 ἁμαρτίας τέκνα κολάζειν. ἔπειτα στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ περὶ[1] εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ συναθροίσας ὡς τριάκοντα μυριάδας τούτων μὲν ἑκατοντάρχους κατέστησε, πέμψας δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα μισθοῦται δέκα μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων· διεγνώκει γὰρ τοῖς Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Γαβα-
189 λιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι. παρασκευασαμένου δὲ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ μέλλοντος ἐξορμᾶν ὁ προφήτης τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν στρατὸν ἀπολῦσαι συνεβούλευσεν· εἶναι γὰρ ἀσεβῆ, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἧτταν αὐτῷ προλέγειν χρησαμένῳ τούτοις συμμάχοις· περιέσεσθαι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενον βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ.
190 δυσφοροῦντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῷ φθῆναι τὸν μισθὸν δεδωκέναι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις παρῄνει ποιεῖν ὁ προφήτης ὅ τι τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, χρήματα δ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύει, χαρίζεσθαι τὸν μισθὸν εἰπών, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν
191 ἐθνῶν ἐστράτευσε καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ μυρίους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοσούτους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οὓς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἀγαγὼν πέτραν, ἥπερ

[1] ὑπὲρ ex LXX (2 Paral) conj Niese.

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[a] *Cf* Deut. xxiv. 16

[b] So Heb and Luc (2 Chron), LXX "Judah and Jerusalem" [c] Bibl "from twenty years old and above."

[d] Scripture adds "and captains of thousands"

[e] 2 Kings "He smote Edom in the valley of Salt (*gê ham-melah*, LXX Γεμέλα) ten thousand," 2 Chron "And Amaziah went to the valley of Salt and smote of the Seirites

the laws of Moses, who declared it unjust to punish children for the sins of their fathers[a] Thereafter he raised an army from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin[b] of such as were in their prime and about twenty years of age,[c] and, having collected some three hundred thousand, appointed captains of hundreds[d] over them, then he sent to the Israelite king and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had decided to undertake a campaign against the nations of the Amalekites and Edomites and Gabalites[e] When he had made his preparations for the campaign and was about to set out, the prophet[f] advised him to dismiss the Israelite army, saying that they were impious men and that God foretold a defeat for him if he employed them as allies, but that he would overcome the enemy, even if he fought with only a few men, if God so willed But the king objected to this because of already having given the Israelites their pay, whereupon the prophet exhorted him to do what was pleasing to God, and said that he should have much wealth from Him And so he dismissed the Israelites, saying that he would make them a present of their pay[g], but he himself with his own force marched against the aforementioned nations And, having defeated them in battle, he killed ten thousand of them and took alive as many more, whom he then led to the great rock

His war with Amalekites and Edomites 2 Chron xxv 5

(Edomites) ten thousand" Gabalites and Amalekites are connected with Edomites in *Ant.* iii. 40, *cf* note *ad loc.*

[f] The prophet (bibl "man of God") is not named in Scripture.

[g] Bibl "and Amaziah separated them (LXX διεχώρισεν) to (lit.) the army that had come to him from Ephraim." Did Josephus perhaps read διεχαρίσατο "distributed presents" for LXX διεχώρισεν?

ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς κατεκρήμνισεν, ἀπήγαγέ τε λείαν πολλὴν καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐκ
192 τῶν[1] ἐθνῶν. Ἀμασίου δ᾽ ἐν τούτοις ὑπάρχοντος οἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὓς ἀπέλυσε μισθωσάμενος ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ νομίσαντες ὕβριν εἶναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο παθεῖν μὴ κατεγνωσμένους, ἐπῆλθον αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ μέχρι Βηθσεμήρων[2] προελθόντες διήρπασαν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔλαβον ὑποζύγια, τρισχιλίους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκτειναν.

193 (2) Ἀμασίας δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐπαρθεὶς τὸν μὲν τούτων αἴτιον αὐτῷ θεὸν γενόμενον ὑπερορᾶν ἤρξατο, οὓς δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαληκιτῶν
194 χώρας ἐκόμισε, τούτους σεβόμενος διετέλει. προσελθὼν δ᾽ ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ τούτους ἡγεῖται θεούς, οἳ τοὺς ἰδίους παρ᾽ οἷς ἐτιμῶντο μηδὲν ὤνησαν μηδ᾽ ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρρύσαντο τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερεῖδον πολλούς τε αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους καὶ αὐτοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας κεκομίσθαι γὰρ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, καθὼς ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς[3] ζωγρήσας
195 ἤγαγεν. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ταῦτ᾽ ὀργὴν ἐκίνησε, καὶ προσέταξεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν τὸν προφήτην, ἀπειλήσας αὐτὸν κολάσειν ἂν πολυπραγμονῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν

[1] πάντων MSP: τούτων ex Lat. Hudson.
[2] Βηθεεμήρων R: Bethoron Lat. [3] τινὰ RO.

[a] Bibl Sela (A.V. "the rock"; possibly Sela is thus to be taken as "the rock," a common noun, not a name, here), LXX 2 Kings τὴν πέτραν, 2 Chron κρημνοῦ, "precipice" But the site of the later Petra is probably meant, *cf.* *Ant* IV 82

[b] Unscriptural detail.

[c] Amplification of 2 Chron. xxv. 10, "and their anger was

which is over against Arabia,[a] and hurled them from it, he also carried off much booty and untold wealth from these nations.[b] While Amasias was so engaged, the Israelites whom he had dismissed after hiring them showed resentment at this act and, considering their dismissal an insult—for, they said, they would not have experienced this treatment had they not been held in contempt[c]—they fell upon his kingdom and, advancing as far as Bēthsemēra,[d] ravaged the country and took many cattle[e] and killed three thousand men.

Amaziah i[s] rebuked b[y] a prophet for idolatr[y] 2 Chron. xxv. 14.

(2) But Amasias, elated at his victory and achievements, began to neglect God, who had been the cause of them, and persisted in worshipping the gods whom he had brought from the country of the Amalekites. Then the prophet[f] came to him and said that he wondered how he could consider those beings as gods who had neither given any help to their own people, by whom they were honoured, nor had saved them from his hands, but had looked on while many of them were perishing, and had allowed themselves to be taken captive, for they had, he said, been brought to Jerusalem in the same manner as one might bring enemies whom one had taken alive. But these words moved the king to anger, and he ordered the prophet to hold his peace, threatening to punish him if he meddled in these affairs. And

greatly kindled against Judah and they returned to their home in wrath."

[d] Bibl. "from Samaria (*šôm^{e}rôn*) even unto Beth-horon," LXX ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας ἕως Βαιθωρών. Probably, as Weill suggests, Bēthsemēra in Josephus's text is a conflation of the two names. Moreover, the occurrence of the name Beth-shemesh (2 Kings xiv. 11 = 2 Chron. xxv. 21) as the battlefield of Judah and Israel may have added to the confusion.

[e] Bibl. "much spoil."

[f] "Prophets" in LXX (but sing. is used further on).

ἡσυχάζειν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἀμελήσειν δὲ ὧν ἐπικεχείρηκε
196 νεωτερίζων[1] τὸν θεὸν προύλεγεν Ἀμασίας δὲ
κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις οὐ δυνάμενος,
ἃς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξύβριζεν, ἀλλὰ
φρονηματισθεὶς ἔγραψεν Ἰωάσῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰσραη-
λιτῶν βασιλεῖ κελεύων ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ σὺν ἅπαντι
τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκουε τοῖς προγόνοις
αὐτοῦ Δαυίδῃ καὶ Σολομῶνι, ἢ μὴ βουλόμενον
εὐγνωμονεῖν, εἰδέναι πολέμῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
197 διακριθησόμενον. ἀντέγραψε δ' ὁ Ἰώασος τάδε·
"βασιλεὺς Ἰώασος βασιλεῖ Ἀμασίᾳ ἦν ἐν τῷ
Λιβάνῳ ὄρει κυπάρισσος παμμεγέθης καὶ ἄκανος
αὕτη πρὸς τὴν κυπάρισσον ἔπεμψε μνηστευομένη[2]
τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς πρὸς γάμον τῷ παιδί μεταξὺ
δὲ ταῦτα λέγουσαν θηρίον τι παρερχόμενον κατ-
198 επάτησε τὴν ἄκανον. τοῦτο οὖν ἔσται σοι παρά-
δειγμα τοῦ μὴ μειζόνων ἐφίεσθαι, μηδ' ὅτι τὴν
πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας μάχην εὐτύχησας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
γαυρούμενος σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου κινδύνους
ἐπισπῶ."
199 (3) Ταῦτα δ' ἀναγνοὺς Ἀμασίας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ
τὴν στρατείαν παρωξύνθη, τοῦ θεοῦ παρορμῶντος
αὐτόν, οἶμαι, πρὸς αὐτήν, ἵνα τῶν παρανομηθέντων
εἰς αὐτὸν δίκην ἀπολάβῃ ὡς δ' ἐξήγαγε μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰώασον καὶ συνάπτειν μάχην
ἔμελλον, τὸ Ἀμασίου στράτευμα φόβος αἰφνίδιος

[1] νεωτερίζειν MS[1]. [2] E: μνηστευσομένη codd

[a] Lit "innovating", νεωτερίζων, moreover, usually has a political connotation

[b] Scripture says merely, "And Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash . . saying, Come let us meet face to face (*i e.* in battle)."

the other, though he said that he would hold his peace, foretold that God would not overlook the strange and unlawful practices[a] to which he had set his hand. Amasias, however, was not able to contain himself at his good fortune, but outraged God from whom he had received it, and in his presumption wrote to Joas, the king of the Israelites, commanding him to submit to him with all his people, just as formerly they had submitted to his forefathers David and Solomon; if he refused to be reasonable, let him understand that the question of supremacy would have to be decided by war.[b] Thereupon Joas wrote back as follows, "King Joas to King Amasias. There was once on Mount Libanos a very great cypress[c] and a thistle. The thistle sent to the cypress to ask the latter's daughter in marriage for her son. But meanwhile, as she was asking this, a wild beast came by and trampled on the thistle. Let this, therefore, be an example to you not to reach for what is beyond you, nor, because you were lucky in battle against the Amalekites,[d] need you take so much pride in that and bring down danger upon yourself and your kingdom."

Amaziah's challenge to Jehoash of Israel 2 Kings xiv. 8; 2 Chron. xxv. 17

(3) When Amasias read this letter, he was still further provoked into making war; it was God, I think, who urged him on to it, in order that he might suffer punishment for his transgressions against Him.[e] But, after he had marched out with his force against Joas, and they were about to join battle, there came upon the army of Amasias such a

Jehoash takes Jerusalem 2 Kings xiv. 11; 2 Chron. xxv. 20

[c] Bibl. "cedar" (*'erez*), LXX κέδρον.
[d] Bibl. "Edomites," *cf.* § 188 note *e*.
[e] Although this statement reads like an addition made by Josephus, it is found in Scripture, 2 Chron. xxv. 20.

καὶ κατάπληξις οἵαν θεὸς οὐκ εὐμενὴς ὢν ἐντίθησι
200 εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν δια
σπαρέντων ὑπὸ[1] τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν μονωθέντα τὸι
Ἀμασίαν ληφθῆναι συνέβη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίωι
αἰχμάλωτον ἠπείλησε δ' αὐτῷ θάνατον Ἰώασος,
εἰ μὴ πείσειε τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἀνοίξαντας αὐτῷ
τὰς πύλας δέξασθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴι
201 πόλιν. καὶ Ἀμασίας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοί
περὶ τὸ ζῆν δέους ἐποίησεν εἰσδεχθῆναι τὸν πολέ
μιον· ὁ δὲ διακόψας τι τοῦ τείχους ὡς τετρακοσίωι
πηχῶν ἐφ' ἅρματος εἰσήλασε διὰ τῆς διακοπῆς
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τὸν Ἀμασίαν ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον
202 κύριος δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ γενόμενος τῶν Ἱερο-
σολύμων[3] τούς τε τοῦ θεοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀνείλετο καὶ
ὅσος ἦν τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς
βασιλείοις ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπολύσας
203 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν ταῦτα
δ' ἐγένετο περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἔτει τετάρτῳ
καὶ δεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα
ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φεύγει μὲν εἰς
Λάχεισαν[4] πόλιν, ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων

[1] δ' ὑπὸ ROSP[1] Lat.: δὴ ὑπὸ Hudson
[2] Ἰώασος E Lat . om. codd.
[3] Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν RO
[4] Λάχισαν ROE. Lachis Lat.

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[a] The account of the battle is amplified. Josephus, however, seems rightly to have recognized that the Heb verb *yinnāgeph* (A V "was put to the worse"), applied to Judah, really means "was seized by divinely inspired terror in battle."

sudden terror and consternation as God inspires when He is unpropitious, and turned them to flight. And, when they dispersed in alarm before even a blow was struck, the result was that Amasias, being left alone, was taken captive by the enemy.[a] And Joas threatened him with death unless he persuaded the people of Jerusalem to open their gates to him and admit him with his army into the city. And so Amasias from necessity and fear for his life caused the enemy to be admitted.[b] Joas then broke down the wall for a distance of about four hundred cubits and in his chariot rode through the breach into Jerusalem, leading Amasias captive.[c] And, having become master of Jerusalem in this way, he carried off the treasures of God, and took out all the gold and silver that Amasias had in his palace; then, having released him from captivity under these conditions,[d] he departed for Samaria. These things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amasias[e]; and when, after these events, his friends conspired against him, he fled to the city of Lacheisa[f] but was put to death by the men whom the conspirators had sent

Death of Amaziah 2 Kings xiv 17, 2 Chron xxv 25

[b] Scripture says merely that Amaziah was captured and brought to Jerusalem.

[c] The last clause ("in his chariot," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

[d] "Under these conditions" or "circumstances" (οὕτως) may, less plausibly, be taken with the verb "he departed."

[e] According to 2 Kings xiv. 2 = 2 Chron. xxv. 1, Amaziah reigned 29 years, and according to 2 Kings xiv. 17 = 2 Chron. xxv. 15, he lived for 15 years after Jehoash's death, which puts the capture of Jerusalem in the 14th year of his reign, if we assume that Jehoash's death took place in the same year.

[f] Bibl. Lachish (*Lakîš*), LXX Λαχείς, *cf. Ant.* viii. 246 note *l*.

πεμψάντων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀποκτενοῦντας αὐτόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλικῶς
204 ἐκήδευσαν· κατέστρεψε δὲ οὕτως Ἀμασίας τὸν βίον διὰ[1] τὸν νεωτερισμὸν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλιγωρίας,[2] βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ὀζίας τοὔνομα

205 (x 1) Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀμασία βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάσου υἱὸς Ἱεροβόαμος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑβριστὴς καὶ παράνομος δεινῶς ἐγένετο εἴδωλά τε σεβόμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀτόποις καὶ ξένοις ἐγχειρῶν ἔργοις, τῷ δὲ λαῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μυρίων ἀγαθῶν[3] αἴτιος
206 ὑπῆρξε τούτῳ προεφήτευσέ τις Ἰωνᾶς, ὡς δεῖ πολεμήσαντα τοῖς Σύροις αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐκείνων δυνάμεως καὶ πλατῦναι τὴν αὐτοῦ[4] βασιλείαν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον μέρεσιν ἕως Ἀμάθου πόλεως, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν
207 ἕως τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ ὅροι τῆς Χαναναίας ἦσαν οὗτοι, καθὼς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς περιώρισε. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους ὁ Ἱερόβαμος καταστρέφεται πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ὡς προεφήτευσεν Ἰωνᾶς.

208 (2) Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν

[1] καὶ διὰ RO.
[2] τῆς ὀλιγωρίας] καὶ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ex Lat. Hudson
[3] κακῶν MSP Exc Suidas.
[4] Niese. αὐτοῦ codd. E.

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[a] Scripture adds " on horses "
[b] According to 2 Kings xiv 21 = 2 Chron xxv 1, he was 25 years old at his accession, adding 29 years for his reign, we get 54 years

there to kill him Then they brought his body to Jerusalem [a] and gave him a royal burial Thus, then, did Amasias meet his end because of his innovations, which led him to show contempt of God, he had lived fifty-four years [b] and reigned twenty-nine He was succeeded by his son, named Ozias.[c]

(x 1) In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amasias, Jeroboam, the son of Joas, began to reign over the Israelites and reigned in Samaria forty [d] years This king was shockingly arrogant and lawless in his conduct toward God, worshipping idols and adopting many unseemly foreign practices, but to the people of Israel he was the cause of innumerable benefits [e] Now a certain Jonah prophesied to him that he should make war on the Syrians and defeat their forces and extend his realm on the north as far as the city of Amathos [f] and on the south as far as Lake Asphaltitis [g]—for in ancient times these were the boundaries of Canaan as the general Joshua had defined them And so, having marched against the Syrians, Jeroboam subdued their entire country, as Jonah had prophesied

Wickedness of Jeroboam of Israel 2 Kings xiv 23

(2) But, since I have promised to give an exact

The story of Jonah

[c] So LXX 2 Chron, bibl Uzziah (*'Uzzîyāhû*), also called Azariah (*'Azaryāhû*), LXX 'Αζαρίας [d] Bibl. 41.

[e] The variant "evils" is probably a scribal correction to fit the context, the reading "benefits" is supported by what Josephus says in § 215, and by Scripture, 2 Kings xiv 25, 27, which speaks of Jeroboam's conquests.

[f] Bibl Hamath, LXX Αἰμάθ, *v l* 'Ημάθ, *cf Ant* vii 107 note *e*.

[g] Bibl "the sea of the plain" (*'Arābāh*), LXX τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς 'Αραβά, for 'Αραβά Luc has πρὸς ἑσπέραν "toward the west" (lit "evening," reading *'ereb*) The scriptural "sea of the plain" is the Dead Sea, for which Lake Asphaltitis is the Hellenistic name, *cf. Ant* i 174

πραγμάτων παραδώσειν ὑπεσχημένος, ὅσα καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ προφήτου εὗρον ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραικαῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα διεξελθεῖν· κελευσθεὶς γὰρ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πορευθῆναι μὲν εἰς τὴν Νίνου[1] βασιλείαν, κηρῦξαι δ᾽ ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολέσει, δείσας οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδιδράσκει τὸν θεὸν εἰς Ἰόπην[2] πόλιν καὶ πλοῖον
209 εὑρὼν ἐμβὰς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἔπλει τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπιγενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος σφοδροτάτου καὶ κινδυνεύοντος καταδῦναι τοῦ σκάφους οἱ μὲν ναῦται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται[3] καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύκληρος εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο χαριστηρίους, εἰ διαφύγοιεν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς συγκαλύψας αὑτὸν ἐβέβλητο, μηδὲν ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρα ποιοῦντας μιμούμενος.
210 αὔξοντος δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ βιαιοτέρας γενομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς θαλάσσης, ὑπονοήσαντες, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, τινὰ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων αἴτιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνέθεντο κλήρῳ
211 τοῦτον ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν μαθεῖν κληρωσαμένων οὖν ὁ προφήτης λαγχάνει, πυνθανομένων δὲ πόθεν τε εἴη καὶ τί μετέρχεται τὸ μὲν γένος ἔλεγεν Ἑβραῖος εἶναι προφήτης δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ[4] συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ θέλουσιν ἀποδράναι τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος·
212 αἴτιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ χειμῶνος. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν

[1] Νινύου RO: Νιναίου E· Niniae Lat.
[2] Ἰόππην RMP².
[3] ὁ κυβερνήτης MSP Lat.
[4] post θεοῦ lacunam statuit Niese.

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[a] Bibl. Nineveh, LXX Νινευή.
[b] Bibl. Joppa (*Yāphô*), LXX Ἰόππη, modern Jaffa, the chief port of Palestine.

account of our history, I have thought it necessary to recount what I have found written in the Hebrew books concerning this prophet This man, then, hav- Jonah i 2
ing been commanded by God to go to the kingdom of Ninos [a] and, when he arrived there, to preach in that city that it would lose its power, was afraid and did not set out, but fled from God to the city of Jopē,[b] where he found a boat and embarked in it to sail to Tarsus [c] in Cilicia But a very severe storm came up and, as the vessel was in danger of sinking, the sailors and pilots and even the shipmaster began to pray and vow thank-offerings if they escaped the sea Jonah, however, covered himself up and lay there, not imitating any of the things that he saw the others doing [d] Then, when the waves rose still higher and the sea became more violent in the wind, they began to suspect, as is natural, that one of the passengers was the cause of the storm that had come upon them, and they agreed to draw lots to see who it might be Accordingly they drew them, and it was the prophet on whom the lot fell And, when they asked him where he came from and what his business was, he said that he was a Hebrew [e] by race, and a prophet of the Most High God [f] He advised them, therefore, if they wished to escape their present danger, to throw him into the water, for, he said, he was the cause of the storm that had come upon them At

[c] Bibl Tarshish, LXX Θαρσεΐς, *cf* *Ant* i 127.

[d] Bibl " Jonah went into the sides of the ship and lay there and went to sleep " (LXX ἔρεγχεν " snored ").

[e] So Heb consonantal text *ʿbry* = *ʿibrî* ; LXX, reading consonantal text as *ʿbd y* = *ʿebed* Y(HWH), has δοῦλος Κυρίου " servant of the Lord "

[f] Bibl " and I fear the Lord God of heaven who has made the sea and the dry land "

πρῶτον οὐκ ἐτόλμων, κρίναντες ἀσέβημα εἶναι ξένον ἄνθρωπον καὶ πεπιστευκότα αὐτοῖς τὸ ζῆν εἰς φανερὰν οὕτως[1] ἀπώλειαν ἐκρῖψαι, τελευταῖον δ' ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος βαπτίζεσθαι τοῦ σκάφους, ὑπό τε τοῦ προφήτου παρορμηθέντες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους τοῦ περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας ῥίπτουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς
213 τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὁ μὲν χειμὼν ἐστάλη, τὸν δὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήτους καταποθέντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον ἐκβρασθῆναι πόντον, ζῶντα καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος λελωβη-
214 μένον. ἔνθα τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς συγγνώμην αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Νίνου πόλιν καὶ σταθεὶς εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκήρυσσεν ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον πάνυ χρόνον[2] ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσας ὑπέστρεψε διεξῆλθον δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν, ὡς εὗρον ἀναγεγραμμένην

215 (3) Ἱεροβόαμος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας τὸν βίον διαγαγὼν καὶ ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἐτελεύτησε καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ζαχαρίας.
216 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ Ὀζίας ὁ τοῦ Ἀμασία υἱός,

[1] αὐτοὺς RO
[2] πάνυ χρόνον] πάλιν M ed. pr

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[a] Amplification of Scripture

first they did not dare to do so, regarding it as an impious act to take a man who was a stranger and had entrusted his life to them,[a] and cast him out to so certain a death; but finally, as their distress pressed more heavily upon them[b] and the vessel was on the point of sinking, and since they were driven to it both by the prophet himself and by fear for their own lives, they cast him into the sea. And so the storm was stilled; as for Jonah, the story has it that he was swallowed by a whale and after three days and as many nights was cast up on the shore of the Euxine sea,[c] still living and unharmed in body. Then, having prayed to God to grant him pardon for his sins, he went to the city of Ninos and, standing where all could hear him, proclaimed that in a very short time they would lose their dominion over Asia: after giving them this message, he departed. And I have recounted his story as I found it written down.[d]

Jeroboam is succeeded by Zachariah. 2 Kings xiv. 29.

(3) Now King Jeroboam died after a life of complete prosperity and a reign of forty[e] years; he was buried in Samaria and was succeeded on the throne by his son Zacharias.[f] In the same way Ozias,[g] the son of Amasias, (succeeded his father, and) in the

Amaziah is succeeded by Uzziah (Ozias).

[b] ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ is a Thucydidean phrase, *cf.* Thuc. ii. 52.

[c] Jonah ii. 10 (Heb. 11) "And the whale vomited Jonah upon the dry land" (LXX ξηράν). Josephus apparently assumes that the Black (Euxine) Sea would be the nearest sea to Nineveh.

[d] Josephus's brief summary of the book of Jonah omits the chief message of the story, the need of repentance.

[e] *Cf.* § 205 note *b*.

[f] Bibl. Zachariah (*Zᵉkaryāh*), LXX Ζαχαρίας (at this point, 2 Kings xiv. 29, LXX mistakenly writes Azariah but gives Zacharias thereafter).

[g] Bibl. Uzziah (also called Azariah), *cf.* § 204 note *c*.

ἔτος ἤδη τέταρτον πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ἱεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μητρὸς ὢν Ἀχίας[1] μὲν τοὔνομα ἀστῆς δὲ τὸ γένος ἀγαθὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων φιλο-
217 πονώτατος. στρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας μάχῃ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔλαβε κατὰ κράτος Γίτταν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν[2] καὶ κατέσκαψεν αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐπῆλθε τοῖς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γειτνιῶσιν Ἄραψι, καὶ πόλιν κτίσας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐγκατ-
218 έστησεν αὐτῇ φρουράν. ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καταστρεψάμενος καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ὁρίσας τελεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ μέχρι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅρων χειρωσάμενος, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἤρχετο ποιεῖσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅσα γὰρ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου κατεβέβλητο ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, ταῦτά τε ἀνῳκοδόμει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν, ὅσα τε ἦν κατεσκαμμένα[3] ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως, ὅτε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀμασίαν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν
219 πόλιν προσῳκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πύργους πολλοὺς

[1] Ἀχιάλας SP. Achelamas Lat.
[2] ex cod Vat Hudson · Ἰαμνίαν rell.
[3] M Exc. · καταβεβλημένα rell

[a] Bibl 27th. As rabbinic commentators early recognized, the biblical figure here is at variance with those indicated earlier; Amaziah reigned for 15 years after Jeroboam's accession (2 Kings xiv 17 = 2 Chron. xxv. 25, *cf* § 203 note *e*), so that Uzziah must have become king in the 14th (by predating) year of Jeroboam's reign, as Josephus states. Some

fourteenth [a] year of Jeroboam's reign began to rule over the two tribes in Jerusalem; the name of his mother, a native of that city, was Achia [b] He was a good and just man by nature and was both magnanimous and most industrious in providing for the state He also made war on the Philistines and, having defeated them in battle, took by storm their cities Gitta [c] and Jamneia [d] and razed their walls to the ground. After this campaign he went out against the Arabs living on the borders of Egypt [e] and, having founded a city on the Red sea,[f] stationed a garrison there Next he subdued the Ammanites [g] and, having imposed a tribute upon them and made himself master of all the country as far as the borders of Egypt, he began to take thought thereafter for Jerusalem; whatever parts of the walls had fallen either through age or through the neglect of the kings before him, he rebuilt or repaired, as well as those parts which had been thrown down by the king of Israel when, after taking his father Amasias captive, he entered the city.[h] In addition he built many

2 Kings xv 1, 2 Chron xxvi 1

Uzziah's victories and improvement 2 Chron xxvi 8

Jewish authorities, however, resolve the chronological difficulties by assuming that Uzziah was co-regent with Amaziah during the last 15 years of the latter's reign

[b] Variant Achiala; bibl Jecholiah (*Yᵉkolyāhû*), LXX 2 Kings Χαλειά, 2 Chron Ἰεχελιά, *v l.* Χααιά

[c] Bibl Gath, *cf* § 170 note *c*

[d] Bibl Jabneh (*Yabnêh*), LXX Ἰαβνή, *cf* *Ant* v. 87 note *f*. Scripture adds Ashdod

[e] Bibl "the Arabs that dwelt in Gur-baal (LXX ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας) and the Meunim" (LXX Μειναίους "Minaeans") The site of Gur-baal has not been identified. The Meunim were probably the inhabitants of Maon, S.E of Petra

[f] At Eloth (2 Chron. xxvi 2)

[g] So Heb. (bibl. Ammonites), probably meaning the Meunim, here again LXX has Μειναῖοι.

[h] The reference to Amaziah is an addition to Scripture

πεντήκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον[1] καὶ φρουροὺς δ'
ἐνετείχισε τοῖς ἐρήμοις χωρίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς
ὀχετοὺς ὤρυξεν ὑδάτων ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποζυγίων
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος·
220 εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ χώρα πρὸς νομάς γεωργικὸς δὲ
ὢν σφόδρα τῆς γῆς ἐπεμελεῖτο, φυτοῖς αὐτὴν καὶ
παντοδαποῖς τιθηνῶν σπέρμασι. στρατιᾶς δ' εἶχεν
ἐπιλέκτου περὶ αὐτὸν μυριάδας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα,
ἧς ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν καὶ ταξίαρχοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι γεν-
ναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἀνυπόστατοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν
221 δισχίλιοι. διέταξε δ' εἰς φάλαγγας τὴν ὅλην
στρατιὰν καὶ ὥπλισε ῥομφαίαν δοὺς ἑκάστῳ καὶ
θυρεοὺς καὶ θώρακας χαλκοῦς καὶ τόξα καὶ σφεν-
δόνας ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις μηχανήματα πολλὰ
πρὸς πολιορκίας κατεσκεύασε πετρόβολά τε καὶ
δορύβολα καὶ ἅρπαγας[2] καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια
222 (4) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συντάξει καὶ
παρασκευῇ διεφθάρη τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τύφου, καὶ
χαυνωθεὶς θνητῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ πρὸς
ἅπαντα διαρκοῦς τὸν χρόνον ἰσχύος ὠλιγώρησεν
(αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ τηρεῖν
223 τὰ νόμιμα). ὤλισθε δὲ ὑπ' εὐπραξίας καὶ κατ-
ηνέχθη πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτήματα, πρὸς ἃ
κἀκεῖνον ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν λαμπρότης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ δυνηθέντα προστῆναι καλῶς
αὐτῶν ἤγαγεν. ἐνστάσης δ' ἡμέρας ἐπισήμου καὶ

[1] ἕκαστον] καὶ ἑκατὸν MSP Exc Suidas singulis quibusque CL cubitos habentibus Lat [2] + καὶ ἀρτῆρας SP.

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[a] Variant "a hundred and fifty", no figure is given in Scripture

towers, each fifty[a] cubits high He also built fortified posts in desert regions and dug many canals for water[b] And of beasts of burden and other cattle he had an unlimited number, for the country was naturally good for pasture. And, being interested in farming, he took the greatest care of the soil and cultivated it with plants and all kinds of seed. He also had under him a picked army of three hundred and seventy thousand[c] men, over which were commanders and officers and captains of thousands who were men of valour and irresistible prowess, two thousand[d] in number He disposed his entire army into phalanxes and armed them, giving each a sword,[e] a shield and breastplate of bronze,[f] a bow and a sling. Beside this he also built many engines for sieges, such as rock-throwers and spear-throwers and grappling-irons,[g] and the like.

(4) But, after he had made these arrangements and preparations, he was corrupted in mind through pride and, being filled with vanity on account of his mortal prosperity, he became contemptuous of the power that is immortal and endures for all time, that is, piety toward God and observance of the laws And so, because of his successes, he slipped and became involved in the same sins as those of his father, who had also been led into them by his brilliant good fortune and the greatness of his power, which he had not been able to direct rightly.[h] Thus, on the occasion of a notable day which was a public

Uzziah's degeneration 2 Chron xxvi. 16

[b] Bibl. "cisterns" (A V. "wells"). [c] Bibl 307,500.
[d] Bibl. 2600 [e] Bibl "spear."
[f] "Bronze" is an unscriptural detail.
[g] Variant adds "attachments" (?). Scripture mentions only engines to throw arrows and great stones.
[h] Amplification of Scripture.

πάνδημον ἑορτὴν ἐχούσης, ἐνδὺς ἱερατικὴν στολὴν
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος θυσιάσων[1] ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ
224 βωμοῦ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως Ἀζαρία, ὄντων
σὺν αὐτῷ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα, κωλύοντος αὐτόν (οὐ
γὰρ ἐξὸν ἐπιθύειν εἶπον, μόνοις δ' ἐφεῖσθαι[2] τοῦτο
ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος γένους), καταβοών-
των δ' ἐξιέναι καὶ μὴ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ὀργι-
σθεὶς ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς θάνατον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡσυχίαν
225 ἄξουσι. μεταξὺ δὲ σεισμὸς ἐκλόνησε τὴν γῆν
μέγας, καὶ διαστάντος τοῦ ναοῦ φέγγος ἡλίου
λαμπρὸν ἐξέλαμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψει
προσέπεσεν, ὡς τῷ μὲν εὐθέως λέπραν ἐπιδραμεῖν,
πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἐρωγῇ τοῦ
ὄρους ἀπορραγῆναι τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύσιν
καὶ κυλισθὲν τέσσαρας σταδίους ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν
ὄρος στῆναι, ὡς τάς τε παρόδους ἐμφραγῆναι καὶ
τοὺς παραδείσους τοὺς βασιλικούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ-
226 ειλημμένην τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῆς λέπρας
εἶδον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἔφραζόν τε αὐτῷ τὴν συμφορὰν
καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἐναγῆ. ὁ δ'

[1] ἐπιθυσιάσων M Exc. Suidas: ἐπιθυμιάσων SP Lat.: θυμιάσων E Zonaras. [2] E: ἐφεῖται codd. Exc. Suidas.

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[a] Variant "offer incense," as in Scripture; but *cf.* ἐπιθύειν below.

[b] Scripture says merely, "he transgressed against the Lord his God and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense."

[c] So LXX; bibl. Azariah (*'Azaryāhû*).

[d] The threat of death is an unscriptural detail.

[e] Like Josephus, the rabbis connect with Uzziah's act the earthquake mentioned in the prophecy of Zechariah, xiv. 5, "As you fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah, King of Judah" (as well as the vision of Isaiah, ch. vi.), *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 262, vi. 358 note 30.

festival, he put on the priestly garment and entered the sacred precinct to offer sacrifice[a] to God on the golden altar.[b] And, when the high priest Azarias,[c] with whom there were eighty priests, tried to prevent him—for, they said, it was not lawful for any one to offer sacrifice, but to do so was allowed only to those of the line of Aaron,—and they all clamoured for him to go out and not transgress against God, he became angry and threatened them with death[d] if they did not hold their peace. But, while he spoke, a great tremor shook the earth, and, as the temple was riven,[e] a brilliant shaft of sunlight gleamed through it and fell upon the king's face so that leprosy at once smote him,[f] while before the city at a place called Erōgē[g] half of the western hill was broken off and rolled four stades till it stopped at the eastern hill and obstructed the roads and the royal gardens.[g] When the priests saw the king's face smitten with leprosy, they explained to him the cause of his misfortune, and told him to go out of the city as an unclean person.[h] And so, in his shame

Uzziah is afflicted with leprosy. 2 Chron. xxvi. 19; cf. Zech. xiv. 5.

[f] It is generally (and probably correctly) assumed that the reference to the "brilliant shaft of sunlight" is based on the Heb. *haṣ-ṣara'ath zārᵉḥāh bᵉmiṣḥô* "the leprosy blossomed (A.V. "rose up") in his forehead," as *zārᵉḥāh* commonly means "shine" (of the sun); for another possible explanation cf. Ginzberg vi. 358 note 30, and Rappaport, p. 133 note 258.

[g] Possibly En-rogel, S.E. of Jerusalem, cf. *Ant.* vii. 223 note *a*. Rappaport, following S. Rapoport (cf. also Petit *ap.* Hudson-Havercamp), suggests that it is derived from the Heb. text of Zech. xiv. 5, where, instead of *wᵉnastem gê hāray* "and you shall flee to the valley of the mountains" (?), Josephus read *wᵉnistam gê hāray* "and Ge haray was stopped up," the name Gê hāray being further corrupted to Erōgē.

[h] Bibl. "they hurried him out from there"; cf. following note.

ὑπ' αἰσχύνης τε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δεινοῦ καὶ τοῦ μηκέτ' αὐτῷ παρρησίαν εἶναι τὸ κελευόμενον ἐποίει, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον διανοίας καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀσεβημάτων ταλαίπωρον οὕτως
227 καὶ οἰκτρὰν ὑπομείνας δίκην. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδιώτην ἀποζῶν βίον, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ Ἰωθάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντος, ἔπειτα ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀπέθανεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξήκοντα, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας πεντήκοντα δύο. ἐκηδεύθη δὲ μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κήποις.

228 (xi 1) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἱεροβάμου παῖς Ζαχαρίας ἓξ μῆνας[1] βασιλεύσας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Σελλήμου[2] μὲν τοὔνομα Ἰαβήσου δὲ υἱοῦ, ὃς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν οὐ πλείονα χρόνον ἡμερῶν αὐτὴν
229 κατέσχε τριάκοντα. ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μαναῆμος κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὢν ἐν Θαρσῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἀκούσας, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σέλλημον καὶ βασιλέα κατα-

[1] μησὶ ROSPE.
[2] Σελήμου M · Σελλούσμου SP : Σελίσμου E Sellismo Lat. · Σελλούμου ex cod. Vat. Hudson

[a] So the Targum renders Heb *wayyēšeb bᵉbêth ha-hophšîth* (A.V. "and dwelt in a several [*i.e.* separate] house"), LXX 2 Kings, transliterating the obscure word *ḥophšîth* (usu. "free"), has καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσώθ, 2 Chron. ἐν οἴκῳ ἀφφουσιὼν ἐκάθητο.

at the terrible thing that had happened to him and because he no longer had the right to speak out, he did as he was told; so miserable and pitiable a penalty did he pay for thinking to reach a station higher than man's and for the impieties toward God which were caused thereby. And so for a time 2 Chron xxvi 21
he dwelt outside the city,[a] living the life of a private citizen,[b] for his son Jotham had taken over the government; and then, from grief and despondence at what had happened to him, he died at the age of sixty-eight years,[c] of which he had reigned fifty-two. He was buried alone in his own gardens.[d]

(xi. 1) Now Zacharias, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned over the Israelites six months when he was treacherously put to death by one of his friends, named Sellēmos,[e] the son of Jabēsos,[f] who took over the royal power after him but held it no longer than thirty days. For, when Manaēmos,[g] the general, who was at that time in the city of Tharsē,[h] heard of Zacharias's fate, he set out with his entire army and came to Samaria, and, engaging Sellēmos in battle, slew him and made himself king; from there he

Shallum (Sellēmos) and Menahem (Manaēmos) of Israel. 2 Kings xv. 8.

[b] A medieval Jewish commentator (cited by Rappaport, p. 63) uses Heb. *hedyôt* "private citizen," derived from Gr. ἰδιώτης, to render *hophšîth*, as Josephus does here.

[c] According to 2 Kings xv. 2 = 2 Chron. xxvi. 3 he was 16 years old at his accession; adding 52 years for his reign, we get 68 years.

[d] 2 Kings "with his fathers in the city of David"; 2 Chron. "with his fathers in the field of burial belonging to the kings, for they said, He is a leper."

[e] *Cf.* Luc. Σελλήμ, bibl. Shallum, LXX Σαλλούμ.

[f] Bibl. Jabesh (*Yābēš*), LXX Ἰαβείς.

[g] *Cf.* LXX Μαναήμ; bibl. Menahem (*Mᵉnaḥēm*).

[h] Bibl. Tirzah (*Tirṣāh*), LXX Θαρσειλά (*v.l.* Θερσιλά), Luc. Θερσά, *cf. Ant.* viii. 299 note *a*.

στήσας ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Θαψὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν.
230 οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς πύλας μοχλῷ κλείσαντες οὐκ
εἰσεδέξαντο τὸν βασιλέα ὁ δ' ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοὺς
τὴν πέριξ ἐδῄου χώραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος
231 λαμβάνει πολιορκίᾳ φέρων δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὑπὸ τῶν Θαψιατῶν[1] πραχθεῖσι πάντας αὐτοὺς
διεχρήσατο μηδὲ νηπίων φεισάμενος, ὠμότητος
ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπὼν οὐδὲ ἀγριότητος ἃ γὰρ
οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τινὰς συγγνωστὸν διαθεῖναι
γενομένους ὑποχειρίους, ταῦτα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους
232 οὗτος εἰργάσατο. βασιλεύσας οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ
ὁ Μαναῆμος ἐπ' ἔτη μὲν δέκα σκαιὸς καὶ πάντων
ὠμότατος διέμενεν ὤν. στρατεύσαντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν
Φούλου[2] τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως εἰς μὲν ἀγῶνα
καὶ μάχην οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις, πείσας δὲ
χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβόντα ἀναχωρῆσαι δια-
233 λύεται τὸν πόλεμον. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο συν-
ήνεγκε τὸ πλῆθος Μαναήμῳ πραχθὲν κατὰ κεφαλὴν
δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα τελευτήσας δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα
κηδεύεται μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καταλείπει δὲ τῆς
βασιλείας τὸν υἱὸν Φακέαν διάδοχον, ὃς τῇ τοῦ
πατρὸς κατακολουθήσας ὠμότητι δυσὶν ἔτεσι μόνοις
234 ἦρξεν ἔπειτα δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν συμποσίῳ μετὰ

[1] Θαψίων RO
[2] Φούλλου MSP: Φίλου O Phoulus Lat

[a] Bibl Tiphsah (*Tiphsah*), LXX Θερσά (*v.l* Θαιρά), Luc Ταφῶε On the basis of the Luc reading, many scholars assume that the bibl text should read Tappuah on the boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh (Joshua xvii 8)

[b] Amplification of 2 Kings xv. 16, "Then Menahem smote Tiphsah and all that were therein . and all the women with child he ripped up"

went to the city of Thapsa.[a] But those within the city shut their gates with bars and refused to admit the king. Thereupon he avenged himself upon them by ravaging the country round about, and after a siege took the city by storm. Then, resenting the actions of the inhabitants of Thapsa, he did away with all of them, not sparing even infants and not stopping short of the utmost extremes of cruelty and savagery; those things which it would be unforgivable to do even to aliens if taken captive, such things did he do to those of his own race.[b] Having become king in this way, Manaēmos continued to reign for ten years as a perverse and excessively cruel man.[c] However, when Phūlos,[d] the king of Assyria, came against him with an army, he would not meet the Assyrians in the contest of battle, but persuaded the king to accept a thousand talents of silver and retire, and so brought the war to an end. This sum was contributed to Manaēmos by the people, who were taxed at fifty drachmas[e] a head. After this he died and was buried in Samaria; he left as his successor on the throne his son Phakeas,[f] who followed his father's example of cruelty but ruled only two years, for he was then treacherously put to death, while at a banquet with his friends, through a con-

Menahem pays tribute to Assyria 2 Kings xv 19

Pekahiah (Phakeas) and Pekah (Phakeas) of Israel 2 Kings xv 22.

[c] Scripture does not represent him as worse than his predecessors.

[d] Bibl. Pul, LXX Φουά; this was Tiglath-Pileser III (746–728 B.C.), the latter name being given further on in Scripture, 2 Kings xv. 29 (§ 235).

[e] Bibl. "shekels," LXX σίκλους. Josephus elsewhere equates the shekel with the tetradrachm, *e.g.* *Ant.* iii. 195, viii. 189.

[f] Bibl. Pekahiah (*Peqahyāh*), LXX Φακεσίας, Luc. (*vid.*) Φακεία.

φίλων ἀπέθανε, Φακέου τινός, ὃς ἦν χιλίαρχος, ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ, παιδὸς δὲ Ῥομελία κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν
235 εἴκοσιν ἀσεβής τε ἦν καὶ παράνομος ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Θαγλαθφαλλάσαρ[1] τοὔνομα ἐπιστρατευσάμενος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ τήν τε Γαλαδηνὴν ἅπασαν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καλουμένην καὶ Κύδισαν[2] καὶ Ἄσωρα, τοὺς[3] οἰκήτορας αἰχμαλωτίσας μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

236 (2) Ἰώθαμος δὲ Ὀζία παῖς ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν ἀστῆς γεγονὼς καλουμένης δὲ Ἱεράσης οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀπελείπετο, ἀλλ' εὐσεβὴς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, δίκαιος δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
237 ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπιμελὴς[4] δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γὰρ ἐπισκευῆς ἐδεῖτο καὶ κόσμου, ταῦτα φιλοτίμως ἐξειργάσατο, στοὰς μὲν τὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱδρύσας καὶ προπύλαια, τὰ δὲ καταπεπτωκότα τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέστησε, πύργους παμμεγέθεις καὶ δυσαλώτους οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴ τι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν

[1] Θεγλαφαράσσαρ M Θελλαφαλασσὰρ SP: Θαγλαφαλασὰρ E · Theglaphaassar Lat : Θαιγλαφαλασὰρ (et -φαρασὰρ) Zonaras.
[2] Κύδισσα RO.
[3] Bekker: καὶ τοὺς codd E Lat.
[4] ἐπιμελητὴς MSP

[a] Bibl Pekah (*Peqaḥ*), LXX Φακεέ, Luc. Φακεαί.
[b] So LXX, bibl Remaliah (*R^emalyāhû*).
[c] Heb *šālîš* "commander of a third part" (A V "captain"), LXX τριστάτης, *cf* § 73 note *a*.
[d] Bibl Tiglath-Pileser, LXX Θεγλαθφαλλασάρ (with many *v ll*), *cf* § 232 note *d*

spiracy formed against him by a certain Phakeas,[a] the son of Romelias,[b] who was the captain of a thousand.[c] This Phakeas, who also held power for twenty years, was an impious and lawless man. Now the king of Assyria, named Thaglathphallasar,[d] marched against the Israelites and subdued all of Galadēnē[e] and the country across the Jordan and the adjoining country, called Galilee, and Kydisa[f] and Asōra[g], and, having taken the inhabitants captive, he transported them to his own kingdom. With these words, then, let us end our account of the king of Assyria.

(2) And Jotham,[h] the son of Ozias, reigned over the tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, his mother, a native of that city, being called Jerasē.[i] This king lacked no single virtue, but was pious toward God and just toward men; he also took care of the needs of the city, for all the places that were in need of repair or adornment he completely reconstructed at great expense; he erected porticos and gateways in the temple area, and set up those parts of the walls that had fallen down, and built very large and impregnable towers,[j] and to any other matters which had been neglected throughout his entire kingdom

Jotham of Judah. 2 Chron. xxvii. 1; 2 Kings xv. 32.

[e] Bibl. Gilead, cf. Ant. i. 324.

[f] Bibl. Kedesh, LXX Κένεζ, cf. Ant. v. 63 note c.

[g] Bibl. Hazor (Hāsôr), LXX Ἀσώρ, cf. Ant. v. 199 note d. Scripture mentions three other cities.

[h] Gr. Jōthamos, LXX Ἰωαθάμ (v.l. Ἰωναθάν).

[i] Bibl. Jerushah (Y^e rûšāh), LXX 2 Chron. Ἰερουσσά, 2 Kings Ἰερουσά.

[j] Bibl. (2 Chron.) "He built the high gate of the house of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much. And he built cities in the hills of Judah, and in the forests he built castles and towers."

238 ἠμέλητο, πολλὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο. στρατευσά-
μενος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καὶ κρατήσας
αὐτῶν τῇ μάχῃ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς φόρους κατὰ
πᾶν ἔτος αὐτῷ τελεῖν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καὶ σίτου
κόρους μυρίους τοσούτους[1] δὲ καὶ κριθῆς ηὔξησε
δ' οὕτω τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητον μὲν
αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις
εὐδαίμονα.

239 (3) Ἦν δέ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφή-
της Ναοῦμος ὄνομα, ὃς περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων κατα-
στροφῆς καὶ τῆς Νίνου προφητεύων ἔλεγεν ὡς[2] ἔσται
Νινευὴ[3] κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος κινουμένη· " οὕτως καὶ
ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ταρασσόμενος καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενος
οἰχήσεται φεύγων λεγόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ' στῆτε
καὶ μείνατε καὶ χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄργυρον ἁρπά-
240 σατε.' ἔσται δ' οὐδεὶς βουλησόμενος σώζειν γὰρ
αὐτῶν[4] ἐθελήσουσι τὰς ψυχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κτήματα
δεινὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔρις ἕξει καὶ θρῆνος
πάρεσίς τε τῶν μελῶν, αἵ τε ὄψεις ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου
241 μέλαιναι τελέως αὐτοῖς γενήσονται ποῦ δὲ ἔσται

[1] E Lat τοὺς αὐτοὺς codd
[2] οὕτως ὡς R· οὕτως MSP: haec Lat.
[3] ex Lat Hudson Νινύα P Νινύας rell (Νινευή infra MSP)
[4] Niese. αὐτῶν codd.

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[a] Scripture says that they paid tribute " in that year the second year and the third "
[b] Bibl adds " of silver "
[c] The *kor* was about 11 bushels, *cf* *Ant.* viii 40 note *a*.
[d] The Targum also seems to bring Nahum fairly close in time to Jonah, as does Josephus, *cf* § 242 note *b*. One rabbinic tradition places Nahum in the reign of Manasseh and makes his prophecy apply to the descendants of Sennacherib

he gave his constant attention He also marched against the Ammanites and, having defeated them in battle, imposed a yearly [a] tribute upon them of a hundred talents [b] and ten thousand *kors* [c] of wheat and as many of barley. So greatly did he strengthen his kingdom that it was not lightly regarded by his enemies, while to his own people it brought happiness.

(3) [d] There was at that time a certain prophet named Naūm,[e] who prophesied the downfall of Assyria and Nineveh, saying that Nineveh would be a troubled pool of water [f]; "so also all the people, being disturbed and agitated, shall go away and flee, one saying to another, 'Stop and remain and seize gold and silver for yourselves.' But there will be no one willing, for they will wish to save their own lives rather than their possessions [g] For terrible strife of one with another will come upon them, and lamentation and loosening of their limbs, and their eyes [h] will be darkened with fear [i] Where will be the habita-

Nahum prophesies against Nineveh Nahum ii 8 (Heb LXX 9)

[e] Gr Naūmos, bibl Nahum (*Nahûm*), LXX Ναούμ

[f] Lit "moving pool of water", Heb "like a pool of water from of old" (?), LXX, reading *mêmêha* "its waters" for *mîmê hî'* "from of old" (?), has ὡς κολυμβήθρα ὕδατος τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῆς Weill assumes that κινουμένη in Josephus's text is an attempt to render the obscure *mîmê hî'*, which Targum and A V. translate as above.

[g] This last sentence is based on the obscure Heb phrase *'ên maphnêh* "there is no one turning" (?, A.V. "none shall look back"), LXX οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐπιβλέπων Josephus apparently takes it, as the Targum does, to mean "none takes time to stand still"

[h] Or "faces"

[i] Bibl. "and the faces of them all gather redness" (?, Targum "blackness"), LXX καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πάντων ὡς πρόσκαυμα χύτρας "and the face of all is like a fire-blackened pot" (reading *pārûr* "pot" for *pâ'rûr* "redness" or "blackness").

τὸ κατοικητήριον τῶν λεόντων καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σκύμνων; λέγει δέ σοι ὁ θεός, Νινευή, ὅτι ' ἀφανιῶ σε καὶ οὐκέτι λέοντες ἐκ σοῦ πορευόμενοι ἐπιτάξουσι
242 *τῷ κόσμῳ ' " καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις προεφήτευσεν οὗτος ὁ προφήτης περὶ Νινευῆς, ἃ λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὀχληρὸς δοκῶ παρέλιπον συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινευῆς μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀποχρώντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.*

243 (xii 1) *Ὁ δὲ Ἰώθαμος μετήλλαξεν ἔτη βιώσας ἓν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, θάπτεται δ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἔρχεται δ' εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀχάζην ἡ βασιλεία, ὃς ἀσεβέστατος εἰς τὸν θεὸν γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους παραβὰς νόμους, τοὺς Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέας ἐμιμήσατο, βωμοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναστήσας καὶ θύων ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς εἰδώλοις, οἷς καὶ ἴδιον ὡλοκαύτωσε παῖδα κατὰ τὰ Χαναναίων ἔθη, καὶ*
244 *τούτοις ἄλλα παραπλήσια διεπράσσετο. ἔχοντος δ' οὕτως καὶ μεμηνότος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀράσης*[1] *καὶ Φακέας ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν (φίλοι γὰρ ἦσαν), καὶ συνελάσαντες αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐπολιόρκουν χρόνον, διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα*

[1] Ῥαασῆς RO Rasen Lat.

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[a] Bibl pasturage (A.V " feeding-place "), LXX *νομή*
[b] Nineveh fell in 607/6 B C Josephus thus dates the prophecy in the last year of the Israelite kingdom (722 B C)

tion of lions and the mother [a] of young lions? God says to thee, Nineveh, 'I will blot thee out, and no more shall lions go forth from thee to rule the world.'" And many more things beside did this prophet prophesy about Nineveh, which I have not thought it necessary to mention, but have omitted in order not to seem tiresome to my readers But all the things that had been foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass after a hundred and fifteen years [b] And now, concerning these matters, what we have written may suffice

Jotham is succeeded by Ahaz 2 Kings xv. 38; 2 Chron xxvii. 9.

(xii. 1) And Jotham passed away at the age of forty-one years,[c] of which he had reigned sixteen, and was buried in the royal sepulchres The kingdom then came to his son Achaz,[d] who in acting most impiously toward God and violating his country's laws imitated the kings of Israel, for he set up altars in Jerusalem and sacrificed on them to idols,[e] to which he even offered his own son as a whole burnt-offering according to the Canaanite custom, and he committed other offences similar to these. But, while he was thus acting like a madman, there came against him Arasēs,[f] the king of Syria and Damascus, and Phakeas,[g] the king of Israel—for they were friends,—and, after driving him into Jerusalem, they besieged it for a long time, but because of the strength of its

Syria and Israel attack Judah 2 Kings xvi 5; 2 Chron. xxviii 5

[c] According to 2 Kings xv. 33 = 2 Chron xxvii 1 he was 25 years old at his accession, adding 16 years for his reign, we get 41 years.

[d] Gr. Achazēs, variant Achazos; bibl. Ahaz (*'Āḥāz*), LXX 2 Kings Ἀχάζ, 2 Chron. Ἀχάς.

[e] Scripture (2 Chron) mentions an altar of incense set up in the valley of Hinnom, as well as molten images to the Baalim (LXX γλυπτὰ ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις).

[f] Bibl. Rezin (*Reṣîn*), LXX Ῥαασσών.

[g] Bibl. Pekah, *cf* § 234 note *a*

245 μηδὲν ἀνύοντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς λαβὼν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν Ἠλαθοὺς[1] καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀποκτείνας ἐγκατῴκισεν αὐτῇ Σύρους. τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς πέριξ Ἰουδαίους διαφθείρας καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἀπελάσας εἰς Δαμασκὸν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀν-
246 έζευξεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν[2] βασιλεὺς γνοὺς τοὺς Σύρους ἐπ' οἴκου κεχωρηκότας καὶ νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος εἶναι τῷ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγε, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνικήθη κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν αὐτοῦ
247 πολλοῖς ἅμα καὶ μεγάλοις εἶχεν· δώδεκα γὰρ μυριάδες κατ' ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνῃρέθησαν, ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ζαχαρίας[3] τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτειν' ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχάζου Ἀμασίαν[4] ὄνομα, καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἁπάσης Ἐρικὰμ[5] καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς στρατηγὸν Ἐλικὰν[6] αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν,[7] καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον, καὶ πολλὴν λείαν διαρπάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν[8] εἰς Σαμάρειαν.

[1] Αἰλὰθ ex Lat Hudson [2] Ἱεροσολύμων PE Lat
[3] Coccejı Ζαχαρίαν (ν ex σ corr) M Ζάχαριν vel Ζαχάριν rell.
[4] Naber Ἀμίας M · Ἀμασίας rell. [5] Ἐρκὰμ RO
[6] Ἑλκὰν M . Ἑλικὰν O · Helıcam Lat
[7] ἔλαβον ROS². [8] ἀνεχώρουν MSP.

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[a] Bıbl Elath, LXX Αἰλάθ, *v l.* Αἰλάμ, *cf* *Ant.* vııı. 163 note *e*.
[b] So Heb , LXX, readıng '*Edômîm* "Edomıtes" for '*Arāmîm* "Syrıans," has Ἰδουμαῖοι
[c] Bıbl Zıchri, LXX Ἐζεκρεί, *v l* Ζεχρί.
[d] Bıbl. Maaseıah, LXX Μαασίας, *v ll.* Ἀμασίας (as ın Josephus), Μαασαίας

walls accomplished nothing. However, the king of Syria took the city of Elathūs [a] on the Red Sea and, after killing its inhabitants, settled Syrians therein [b] And, when he had in like manner done away with the Jews in the garrisons and in the surrounding country, and had carried off much spoil, he withdrew with his army to Damascus. But the king of Jerusalem, on learning that the Syrians had returned home, and thinking himself a match for the king of Israel, led out his force against him and, after joining battle, was defeated because of the anger which God felt at his many great impieties. One hundred and twenty thousand of his men were slain that day by the Israelites, whose general Zacharias [c] killed in the battle the son of King Achaz, named Amasias,[d] and took captive [e] Erikam,[f] the governor of the entire kingdom, and Elikan,[g] the chief officer [h] of the tribe of Judah , they also carried off the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin,[i] and, having seized much spoil, retired to Samaria

[e] Bibl "killed." Josephus apparently takes the verb "captured" in the Heb of 2 Chron xxviii 8 with the preceding sentence, as if referring to the two officers as well as the women and children.

[f] Bibl. Azrikam, LXX Ἐζρικάν, v ll Ἐζρικαμάν, Ἐγδρεικάν κτλ

[g] Bibl Elkanah, LXX Ἐλκανά, v l Εἰλκανά

[h] Bibl "next to the king," LXX διάδοχον (Luc. δεύτερον) τοῦ βασιλέως.

[i] Bibl. "And the Israelites carried away captive of their brethren 200,000 women, sons and daughters." Josephus appears to have read *Binyāmîn* "Benjamin" for *bānîm* "sons." Perhaps, however, he includes Benjamin because further on in Scripture (vs 15), the captives are said to have been escorted to Jericho (a Benjamite city, *cf* Joshua xviii. 11-12), "to their brethren."

248 (2) Ὠδηδὰς[1] δέ τις, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ
προφήτης ὑπῆρχεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ
τῶν τειχῶν ἀπαντήσας μεγάλῃ βοῇ τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς
οὐ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν ἐδήλου γενέσθαι, διὰ
δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χόλον, ὃν εἶχεν ἐπ' Ἀχάζην τὸν
249 βασιλέα καὶ κατεμέμφετο τῇ μὲν εὐπραγίᾳ τῇ
κατ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀρκεσθέντας, ἀλλὰ τολμήσαντας
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος συγ-
γενεῖς ὄντας αἰχμαλωτίσαι. συνεβούλευέ τε αὐτοῖς
ἀπολῦσαι τούτους εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαθεῖς· ἀπειθή-
250 σαντας γὰρ τῷ θεῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν. ὁ δὲ τῶν
Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν ἐπ-
εσκέπτετο περὶ τούτων. ἀναστὰς δέ τις Βαραχίας
ὄνομα[2] τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ
ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἔλεγον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς
ὁπλίταις εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, "ἵνα
μὴ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· μόνον γὰρ
ἀπόχρη τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὡς οἱ
προφῆται λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καινότερα τούτων
251 ἀσεβήματα δρᾶν." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται
συνεχώρησαν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν ὃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν.
παραλαβόντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι ἄνδρες τοὺς
αἰχμαλώτους ἔλυσάν τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωσαν καὶ
δόντες ἐφόδια εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέλυσαν ἀβλαβεῖς,
οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον καὶ τέσσαρες[3] αὐτοῖς συνῆλθον καὶ
μέχρις Ἱεριχοῦντος προπέμψαντες οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς Σαμάρειαν.[4]

[1] Ὠβηδὰς SP: Ὠβήλας M. Ὠδίδας E Lat.
[2] ὀνόματι MSP.
[3] τέσσαρας σταδίους RO.
[4] τὴν Σαμάρειαν (-ειας ex -ειαν corr. P: -εων O) χώραν ROSP.

(2) But a certain Odēdas,[a] who was at that time a prophet in Samaria, met the army before the walls, and in a loud voice declared that their victory had come about, not through their own might, but through the wrath which God felt at King Achaz. And he rebuked them because they had not been content with their success against Achaz, but had dared to take captive people of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin,[b] who were their kinsmen. He also advised them to let the captives go and return to their homes unharmed, saying that, if they disobeyed, they should suffer punishment at the hands of God. Thereupon the people of Israel came together in assembly and deliberated about these matters. And there arose one of the men most respected in the state, named Barachias,[c] and three others [d] with him, who said that they would not allow the soldiers to bring the captives into the city, "lest we should all be destroyed by God; for we have committed quite enough sins against Him, as the prophets say, without committing fresh impieties in addition." On hearing these words, the soldiers agreed to let them do what they thought expedient. And so the aforementioned men took over the captives and released them; and they treated them with care and gave them provisions for their homeward journey, after which they sent them away unharmed. And, what was more, the four men went with them, escorting them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and then returned to Samaria.

The prophet Oded rebukes the Israelites. 2 Chron. xxviii. 9.

[a] Bibl. Oded, LXX Ὠδήδ.
[b] Benjamin is not mentioned in Scripture, *cf.* § 247 note *i*.
[c] So most LXX MSS (cod. B Ζαχαρίας), bibl. Berechiah (*Berekyāhû*).
[d] Named in Scripture.

252 (3) Ἀχάζης δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παθὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα Θαγλαθφαλλασάρην συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ[1] παρασχεῖν παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ Σύρους καὶ Δαμασκηνούς, χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἔπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
253 λαμπρὰς δωρεάς. ὁ δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀφικομένων ὡς αὐτὸν ἧκε σύμμαχος Ἀχάζῃ, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σύρους τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατὰ κράτος εἷλε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀράσην ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ Δαμασκηνοὺς ἀπῴκισεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Μηδίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεταστήσας τινὰς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν
254 κατῴκισε. τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν κακώσας πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβε. ταῦτ' αὐτοῦ διαπραξαμένου τοὺς Σύρους ὁ βασιλεὺς[2] ἄρας τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσος[3] ἦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον τὸν[4] ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἴ τι κάλλιστον ἀνάθημα, τοῦτο βαστάσας ἧκεν ἔχων εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας· καὶ πάντων αὐτῷ χάριν ἔχειν
255 ὁμολογήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦν δ' οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀσυλλόγιστος οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ἐπαύσατο τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν προσκυνῶν, ἀλλὰ διετέλει τούτους σεβόμενος ὡς παρεξομένους

[1] αὐτὸν RO
[2] Ἄχαζος E rex Hierosolymorum Lat . βασιλεὺς Ἀχάζης Hudson
[3] ὃς ROM.
[4] καὶ τὰ MSP Lat. : καὶ E.

Ahaz bribes the Assyrians to attack Syria and Israel. 2 Kings xvi 7

(3) [a] But King Achaz, after suffering this defeat at the hands of the Israelites, sent to Thaglathphallasarēs, the king of Assyria, asking him to give aid as an ally in the war against the Israelites, the Syrians and Damascenes, and promising to give him much money; he also sent him splendid gifts. And so, after the envoys had come to him, he went to the help of Achaz, and, marching against the Syrians, ravaged their country, took Damascus by storm, and killed their king Arasēs. He then transported the Damascenes to upper Media,[b] and brought over some of the Assyrian tribes and settled them in Damascus.[c] He also did much damage to the country of the Israelites and took many of them captive. After he had inflicted these things on the Syrians, King Achaz took all the gold that was in the royal treasuries and the silver that was in the temple of God and the finest dedicatory-offerings and, carrying them with him, came to Damascus and gave them to the Assyrian king in accordance with their agreement,[d] and, after acknowledging his thanks for everything, returned to Jerusalem. But so stupid and unmindful of his own good was this king that not even when he was at war with the Syrians did he cease to worship their gods, but, on the contrary, continued to reverence them as

Ahaz's idolatry 2 Kings xvi 10

[a] Josephus omits the Edomite and Philistine invasions of Judah, 2 Chron. xxviii 17-18.

[b] Bibl. "to Kir" (*Qîrāh*), some LXX MSS read "to Cyrene", Luc., reading *qiryāh* "city," has ἀπῳκίσατο τὴν πόλιν "removed the city."

[c] Addition to Scripture.

[d] In Scripture Ahaz sends these gifts to Tiglath-Pileser before the latter's capture of Damascus: moreover it mentions only the silver and gold found in the temple and the royal treasury.

256 αὐτῷ τὴν νίκην. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίων
ἤρξατο τιμᾶν θεοὺς καὶ πάντας ἐῴκει μᾶλλον
τιμήσων ἢ τὸν πατρῷον καὶ ἀληθῶς θεόν, ὃς αὐτῷ
257 καὶ τῆς ἥττης ὀργιζόμενος ἦν αἴτιος. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
δ' ὀλιγωρίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἦλθεν ὡς καὶ
τέλεον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας
ἀπαγορεῦσαι θυσίας ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ περιδῦσαι τῶν
ἀναθημάτων αὐτόν ταῦθ' ὑβρίσας τὸν θεὸν ἐτε-
λεύτησεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα, βασι-
λεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκκαίδεκα, τὸν δ' υἱὸν Ἐζεκίαν[1]
διάδοχον καταλιπών.
258 (xiii. 1) Ἀπέθανε δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ
ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Φακέας ἐπιβουλεύσαν-
τος αὐτῷ φίλου τινὸς Ὡσήου τοὔνομα, ὃς κατασχὼν
τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ' ἔτη ἐννέα πονηρός τε ἦν καὶ τῶν
259 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀλίγωρος. στρατεύει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Σαλμανάσσης[2] καὶ
κρατήσας αὐτοῦ (τὸν γὰρ θεὸν οὐκ εἶχεν Ὡσῆος[3]
εὐμενῆ καὶ σύμμαχον) ὑπήκοον[4] ἐποιήσατο καὶ
260 φόρους ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν ὡρισμένους. ἔτει δὲ

[1] Ἰεζεκίαν RO.

[2] Σαλμανάσσαρις MSP: Σαλμανασσῆς M marg: Σαλμανασᾶς E: Salamanassar Lat.

[3] ἴσως M¹SP

[4] ὑπήκοον om. RO

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[a] Josephus freely paraphrases the scriptural account (2 Kings xvi. 10-11) of the altar at Damascus, of which Ahaz sent a copy to Urijah the priest for imitating at Jerusalem.

[b] An unscriptural detail probably based on 2 Kings xvi. 18, which says that Ahaz made certain changes in the temple "for the king of Assyria."

[c] Josephus loosely combines 2 Kings and 2 Chron. According to 2 Chron. Ahaz gathered together and cut in pieces the temple vessels and shut up the doors of the temple; the passage in 2 Kings seems to mean that he set aside the former bronze altar for occasional use, and used the new Syrian altar

if they would grant him victory.[a] And, after being defeated a second time, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians,[b] and seemed ready to honour any god rather than his fathers' God, the true one, who in His wrath had been the cause of his defeat. To such lengths of contempt and despite of God did he go that he shut up the temple completely and forbade the offering of the customary sacrifices, and stripped it of its dedicatory-offerings.[c] After outraging God in this way, he died at the age of thirty-six years,[d] of which he had reigned sixteen, leaving his son Hezekiah[e] as his successor.

(xiii. 1) At the same time also died Phakeas, the king of Israel, the victim of a conspiracy formed against him by one of his friends,[f] named Osēos,[g] who held the royal power for nine years; he was a wicked man and contemptuous of his duty to God.[h] And there came against him Salmanassēs,[i] the king of Assyria, who defeated him—for Osēos did not have God propitious to him or as his ally[j]—, and made him subject and imposed a fixed tribute

Pekah (Phakeas) is succeeded by Hoshea (Osēos). 2 Kings xv. 30, xvii. 1.

for the sacrifices of the people, and also dismantled the lavers and the "Sea" in the temple court.

[d] According to 2 Kings xvi. 2 = 2 Chron. xxviii. 1 he was 20 years old at his accession; adding 16 years for his reign, we get 36 years.

[e] Gr. Ezekias as in LXX, Heb. *Ḥizqîyāhû*.

[f] Unscriptural detail.

[g] Or Osēēs, *cf.* § 277; bibl. Hoshea, LXX Ὡσηέ.

[h] Scripture adds that he was less wicked than his predecessors.

[i] Variant Salmanassaris; bibl. Shalmaneser, LXX Σαλμανασάρ κτλ.

[j] This reflection replaces the scriptural statement that Shalmaneser came against Hoshea because the latter had allied himself with Egypt and refused to pay the yearly tribute to Assyria.

τετάρτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Ὠσήου ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐζεκίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, Ἀχάζου υἱὸς καὶ Ἀβίας ἀστῆς τὸ γένος. φύσις δ' ἦν αὐτῷ χρηστὴ καὶ δικαία καὶ εὐσεβής[1] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρῶτον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθὼν οὔτ' ἀναγκαιότερον οὔτε συμφορώτερον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπέλαβε τοῦ θρησκεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν
261 αὐτοῖς λέγων· "οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε μὲν ὡς διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἁμαρτίας τοὐμοῦ, παραβάντος τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ὁσίαν καὶ[2] τιμήν, πολλῶν ἐπειράθητε καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν, διαφθαρέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀναπεισθέντες οὓς αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἶναι θεοὺς
262 τούτοις προσκυνεῖν· παραινῶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔργῳ μεμαθηκόσιν ὡς ἔστι δεινὸν τὸ ἀσεβεῖν, τούτου μὲν ἤδη λήθην ποιήσασθαι, καθᾶραι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων μιασμάτων, τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Ληουίτας συνελθόντας[3] οὕτως ἀνοῖξαι τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ καθάραντας αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐξ ἔθους θυσίαις εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ πάτριον ἀνακαλέσασθαι τιμήν οὕτως γὰρ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιήσαιμεν ἀφέντα τὴν ὀργήν."

263 (2) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀνοίγουσί τε τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ ηὐτρέπισαν,[4] καὶ τὰ μιάσματα ἐκβαλόντες τὰς ἐξ ἔθους τῷ βωμῷ θυσίας ἐπέφερον. διαπέμψας

[1] *θεοσεβής* MSPE: religiosa Lat
[2] *καὶ* om. MSP.
[3] *καὶ συνελθόντας* RO
[4] *ηὐτρέπισαν* om. ROM Lat

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[a] Bibl "shut him up and bound him in prison"
[b] Bibl. 3rd.
[c] Bibl. 2 Kings Abi, LXX Ἀβού, Luc Ἀβοὺθ, 2 Chron. Abijah (*'Abîyāh*), LXX Ἀββά, *v l.* Ἀβιά κτλ
[d] Unscriptural detail.

on him.[a] In the fourth[b] year of the reign of Osēos, Hezekiah began to reign in Jerusalem; he was the son of Achaz and of Abia,[c] a native of that city[d] His character was that of a kindly, upright and pious man And therefore, on his first coming into power, he considered nothing more necessary or profitable to himself and his subjects than the worship of God, and so he called together the people and the priests and the Levites, and addressed them in the following words: "You are not ignorant that it is on account of the sins of my father, who transgressed against the religion and worship of God, that you have experienced many great misfortunes, having been corrupted in mind by him and persuaded to bow down to those beings which he himself admitted as gods But now that you have learned by experience how terrible a thing impiety is, I urge you to put it out of your minds from now on and to purify yourselves from your former pollutions; and in this manner let the priests and Levites come together and open the temple and, by purifying it with the accustomed sacrifices, restore it to the ancient service of our country, for in this way we might make God put aside His anger and become gracious"

Ahaz is succeeded by Hezekiah 2 Kings xviii 1, 2 Chron xxix 1

(2) When the king had spoken these words, the priests opened the temple[e] and, after opening it,[f] made ready the vessels of God, and, having got rid of all the pollutions, they offered up the accustomed sacrifices on the altar. Then the king sent messen-

Hezekiah purifies the temple 2 Chron. xxix. 16.

[e] Josephus omits the list of names of Levites, 2 Chron xxix 12-14

[f] Scripture at this point, 2 Chron. xxix. 21, gives a long and detailed account of the sacrifices and Levitical ceremonies which Josephus postpones (*cf* § 268), to introduce here the passage on the Passover celebration (2 Chron. xxx. 1)

δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώραν ἐκάλει τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄξοντα· πολὺν γὰρ ἐκλελοίπει χρόνον διὰ τὰς τῶν
264 προειρημένων βασιλέων παρανομίας. ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, προτρεπόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τὸν ἄρτι βίον εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανελθεῖν συνήθειαν καὶ σέβειν τὸν θεόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς παραγενομένοις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἄγειν καὶ συμπανηγυρίζειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγε παραινεῖν,[1] οὐχ ὅπως ὑπακούσωσιν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ θέλουσι, τοῦ δ' ἐκείνοις[2]
265 συμφέροντος ἕνεκα· μακαρίους γὰρ ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰσραηλῖται παραγενομένων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ δηλωσάντων αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου βασιλέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς ἀνοήτους ἐχλεύασαν,[3] καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δ' ὁμοίως ταῦτα παραινοῦντας καὶ προλέγοντας ἃ πείσονται μὴ μεταθέμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ θεοῦ, διέπτυον καὶ τελευταῖον συλλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπ-
266 έκτειναν. καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων αὐτοῖς ἤρκεσε παρανομοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρω τῶν προειρημένων ἐπενοοῦντο καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ὑποχειρίους· καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὖθις
267 δηλώσομεν. πολλοὶ μέντοι τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ Ζαβούλου καὶ Ἰσσαχάρου πεισθέντες οἷς

[1] παραινῶν MSP Lat.
[2] ἐκείνων MSP.
[3] διεχλεύασαν MSP.

[a] Bibl. Passover (*Pesah*), LXX Φάσεκ, *v l.* Φάσεχ; *cf.* § 271. The festival of Unleavened Bread immediately follows the Passover, *cf* *Ant* iii 249

[b] Or "fellowship" (with Judah).

gers throughout his realm, summoning the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the festival of Unleavened Bread (*Azyma*),[a] which had for a long time been allowed to lapse through the lawless action of the kings previously mentioned. He also sent messengers to the Israelites, exhorting them to give up their present manner of life and return to their ancient custom[b] and reverence God, for, he said, he would permit them to come and celebrate the festival of Unleavened Bread and join in their festal assembly. This, he said, he was proposing, not that they might become subject to him against their will,[c] but because it was for their own good and would, he added, make them happy. However, when the envoys came and brought them this message from their king, the Israelites were not only not persuaded, but even laughed at his envoys as fools; and, when their prophets exhorted them in like manner and foretold what they would suffer if they did not alter their course to one of piety toward God, they poured scorn[d] upon them and finally seized them and killed them. And not stopping even at these acts of lawlessness, they devised things still worse than those mentioned,[e] and did not leave off until God punished them for their impiety by making them subject to their enemies. But of these things we shall write farther on.[f] However, many of the tribes of Manasseh, Zabulon and Issachar[g]

He invites the Israelites 2 Chron. xxx. 1

[c] Addition to Scripture.
[d] Lit. "spat."
[e] The killing of the prophets and the unmentioned acts are unscriptural details.
[f] In §§ 277 ff.
[g] Josephus omits those from Asher (2 Chron. xxx. 11) and Ephraim (*vs.* 18).

οἱ προφῆται παρῄνεσαν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μετεβάλοντο. καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἐζεκίαν συνέδραμον, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσωσιν.

268 (3) *Ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ*[1] *τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ταύρους ἑπτὰ καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐρίφους τοσούτους· ἐπιθέντες δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἱερείων αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες*
269 *τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καλλιερεῖν ἐφῆκαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθυόν τε καὶ ὡλοκαύτουν, οἱ δὲ Ληουῖται περιεστῶτες ἐν κύκλῳ μετὰ τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων ᾖδον ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἔψαλλον ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ Δαυίδου, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς βυκάνας ἔχοντες ἐπεσάλπιζον τοῖς ὑμνῳδοῦσι. τούτων δὲ γινομένων*[2] *ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ῥίψαντες αὐτοὺς ὅ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ*
270 *τὸ πλῆθος προσεκύνουν τὸν θεόν. ἔπειτα θύει μὲν βοῦς ἑβδομήκοντα κριοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄρνας διακοσίους, τῷ πλήθει δὲ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐχαρίσατο βοῦς μὲν ἑξακοσίους τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θρέμματα τρισχίλια· καὶ πάντα μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀκολούθως ἐποίησαν τῷ νόμῳ· τούτοις δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡδόμενος εὐωχεῖτο μετὰ τοῦ*
271 *λαοῦ, τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς θύσαντες τὴν λεγομένην φάσκα,*[3] *τὰς ἄλλας τὸ λοιπὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτά. τῷ δὲ πλήθει, πάρεξ ὧν ἐκαλ-*

[1] *καὶ* om. ROE Zonaras. [2] *γενομένων* MSP Lat.
[3] *πάσχα* MSP Lat.

[a] According to Scripture the sacrifices here described were offered on the occasion of purifying the temple, before the celebration of Passover, *cf.* § 263 note *f*.

heeded the prophets' exhortations and were converted to piety And all these flocked to Jerusalem to Hezekiah that they might worship God.

(3) When they came,[a] Hezekiah went up to the temple with the chiefs and all the people, and sacrificed as his own offering seven bullocks and as many rams, and seven lambs and as many kids Then the king himself and the chiefs placed their hands on the heads of the victims and allowed the priests to complete the sacrifice auspiciously[b] And so, while these sacrificed and offered up whole burnt-offerings, the Levites, who stood round about with their musical instruments, sang hymns to God and played their harps as they had been instructed by David, and the other priests blew the trumpets they carried, and accompanied those who sang. After this was done, the king and the people threw themselves on their faces and did obeisance to God Then he sacrificed seventy oxen, a hundred rams and two hundred lambs, and presented the people[c] with six hundred oxen and three thousand cattle of other kinds, for them to feast on And the priests performed all things in accordance with the law With this the king was well pleased, and feasted with the people, acknowledging his thanks to God. Then, when the festival of Unleavened Bread came round, they sacrificed the *Phaska*,[d] as it is called, and offered the other sacrifices for seven days. To the people, beside the sacrifices which they themselves had brought as auspicious

Hezekiah's celebration of the Passover 2 Chron. xxix 20.

2 Chron xxx 24

[b] It is not clear why Josephus sometimes (*cf.* § 271) uses καλλιερεῖν where LXX has θύειν "sacrifice."

[c] Scripture seems to mean that these latter offerings (bibl "consecrated offerings") were brought by the people themselves.

[d] Variant Pascha: *cf.* § 263 note *a*.

λιέρησαν αὐτοί, ταύρους μὲν δισχιλίους θρέμματα δὲ ἑπτακισχίλια ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχαρίσατο· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐποίησαν· χιλίους μὲν γὰρ ταύρους ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς θρέμματα δὲ χίλια καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.
272 καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀχθεῖσα ἡ ἑορτὴ τότε πρῶτον λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπετελέσθη. ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὴν
273 χώραν ἥγνισαν αὐτήν· καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ παντὸς ἐκάθαραν μιάσματος εἰδώλων, τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι διέταξε[1] κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις τὰς δεκάτας ὥρισε παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δίδοσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν καρπῶν, ἵν' αἰεὶ τῇ θρησκείᾳ παραμένωσι καὶ τῆς θεραπείας ὦσιν ἀχώριστοι τοῦ
274 θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος συνεισέφερε παντοδαπὸν καρπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Ληουίταις, ἀποθήκας δὲ καὶ ταμιεῖα τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσας ἑκάστῳ διένειμε τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Ληουιτῶν καὶ παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ γυναιξί· καὶ οὕτω πάλιν εἰς τὴν
275 ἀρχαίαν θρησκείαν ἐπανῆλθον. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστησάμενος πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καὶ νικήσας κατέσχεν ἁπάσας τὰς ἀπὸ Γάζης μέχρι Γίττης πόλεις τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἠπείλει πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καταστρέψεσθαι[2] τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ
276 αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτέλει, τούτους ἀποδώσει. Ἐζεκίας δὲ[3] τῶν μὲν ἀπειλῶν οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἐθάρρει

[1] προσέταξε MSP. [2] Niese: καταστρέψασθαι codd. E. [3] δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς MSP

[a] Cf. § 268 note b. [b] Bibl. 1000. [c] Bibl. 10,000.

offerings,[a] the king presented two thousand[b] bullocks and seven thousand small cattle; the chiefs did the same and gave them a thousand bullocks and a thousand and forty[c] small cattle. And the festival, which had not been kept in this manner since the time of King Solomon, was then for the first time splendidly and magnificently celebrated. After the observance of the festival had come to an end, they went throughout the country and sanctified it. And the city also they purified of all pollution from idols; and the king decreed that the daily sacrifices should be offered at his own expense in accordance with the law, and ordained that the tithes and first-fruits should be given by the people to the priests and Levites in order that they might always apply themselves to their divine office and be uninterrupted in the service of God. And so the people brought in to the priests and Levites all kinds of fruit, for which the king built storerooms and chambers,[d] and distributed them among the priests and Levites and their children and wives. And thus did they once more return to their ancient form of religion. When the king had arranged these things in the manner described above, he waged war with the Philistines and, after defeating them, seized all the enemy's cities from Gaza to Gitta.[e] Thereupon the king of Assyria sent and threatened to subdue his entire realm unless he would render the tribute which his father formerly paid. But Hezekiah gave no thought to these threats,[f] for

Hezekiah's religious reforms 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.

Hezekiah's war with the Philistines 2 Kings xviii. 8

[d] Scripture adds "in the temple."

[e] Bibl. Gath, *cf.* § 170 note *c*. Gath is not mentioned here in Scripture, which says, "he smote the Philistines unto Gaza and its borders."

[f] So 2 Chron.; according to 2 Kings Hezekiah submitted and paid the tribute demanded.

δ' ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐᾳ, παρ' οὗ πάντ' ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐπυνθάνετο. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐχέτω τὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως.

277 (xiv. 1) Σαλμανάσσης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ ἠγγέλη αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ὠσήης[1] πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Σώαν[2] τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ὠσήου βασι-
278 λείας. οὐ δεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι πολιορκήσας τρισὶν εἷλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἔνατον μὲν ἔτος Ὠσήου βασιλεύοντος ἕβδομον δ' Ἐζεκίου τοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην ἠφάνισε καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ὠσήην ζῶντα
279 ἔλαβε. καὶ μεταστήσας[3] ἄλλα ἔθνη ἀπὸ Χούθου τόπου τινός (ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων τοὔνομα), κατῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ
280 τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν. μετῴκησαν οὖν αἱ δέκα φυλαὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐνακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα ἑπτὰ ἀφ' οὗ

[1] ex Lat. Zonara Niese: ὡς εἴη codd. E.
[2] ed. pr.: Ὦαν codd. E: Soam Lat.: Σωβὰ Zonaras.
[3] + ἐκ ταύτης MSPE Zonaras (vid.).

[a] Bibl. So, LXX Σωά (v.ll. Σωβά, Σηγώρ), Luc. Ἀδραμέλεχ.
[b] Bibl. (2 Kings xviii. 10) 6th.
[c] Bibl. "into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."
[d] In Scripture Hoshea is imprisoned before the siege of Samaria.

he had confidence in his piety toward God and in the prophet Isaiah, by whom he was accurately informed of future events. And so, for the present, this is all that we have to say about this king.

(xiv 1) Now when Salmanassēs, the king of Assyria, was informed that Osēēs, the king of Israel, had secretly sent to Soas,[a] the king of Egypt, inviting him to make an alliance against the Assyrian king, he was filled with wrath, and marched upon Samaria in the seventh year of the reign of Osēēs. But the Israelite king would not admit him, whereupon he besieged Samaria for three years and took it by storm in the ninth year of the reign of Osēēs and in the seventh[b] year of Hezekiah, king of Israel; and he utterly destroyed the government of Israel, and transported all its people to Media and Persia,[c] and along with them carried off Osēēs alive.[d] And, after removing other nations from a region called Chūthos[e]—there is a river by this name in Persia—,[f] he settled them in Samaria and in the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of Israel emigrated from Judaea nine hundred and

The end of the Kingdom of Israel 2 Kings xvii 4

2 Kings xvii. 24

[e] Bibl. Cuthah (*Kûthāh*), LXX Χουνθά, Luc Χωθά. Scripture says, "from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim."

[f] Unscriptural detail. Cuthah was situated in Mesopotamia, not far from Babylon, according to most modern scholars. But, according to Stenning in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 537, "Cuthah has been identified as the name of a country near Kurdistan . . while others consider 'Cuthaeans' to be another form of 'Cossaeans,' a tribe dwelling in the Persian province Jutipa, the modern Khuzistan, E. of the Tigris." Possibly, however, Josephus connects Cuthah with the cities mentioned earlier in Scripture, 2 Kings xvii. 6, "by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes."

χρόνου τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξελθόντες[1] αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τήνδε[2] κατέσχον τὴν χώραν[3] στρατηγοῦντος Ἰησοῦ.[4] ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Δαυίδου υἱωνοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἱεροβοάμῳ παρέδοσαν, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται, ἔτη ἐστὶ διακόσια
281 τεσσαράκοντα μῆνες ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι ἑπτά. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ παρακούσαντας τῶν προφητῶν, οἳ προύλεγον ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν συμφορὰν μὴ παυσα-
282 μένοις τῶν ἀσεβημάτων. ἦρξε δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν ἡ στάσις ἣν ἐστασίασαν πρὸς Ῥοβόαμον τὸν Δαυίδου υἱωνόν, Ἱεροβόαμον τὸν τούτου δοῦλον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες βασιλέα, ὃς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἐξαμαρτὼν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτ' ἐποίησε μιμησαμένοις τὴν ἐκείνου παρανομίαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἧς ἦν ἄξιος δίκης ταύτην ὑπέσχεν.
283 (2) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε πολεμῶν τήν τε Συρίαν πᾶσαν καὶ Φοινίκην τὸ δὲ[5] ὄνομα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις

[1] ἐξῆλθον RO Chronicon Paschale.
[2] ὃν δὲ RO. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Chron Pasch.
[3] + ταύτην RO. + ἡ δὲ M[1]: + ὧν δὲ M[2] + ἀπὸ δὲ ed. pr
[4] + ἔστιν ἐτῶν ὀκτακοσίων codd.
[5] τε RO.

[a] Text uncertain, variant (after "Judaea") "after 947 years. From the time when their forefathers went out of Egypt and they occupied this country under the command of Joshua it was (an interval) of 800 years" The last figure is undoubtedly a scribal addition. In any case the chronology here is inconsistent with that given elsewhere in Josephus. According to *Ant* viii. 61 Solomon began to build the temple 592 years after the exodus; adding 76 years for the rest of his reign (*Ant* viii. 211) and 240 years, etc. (*cf* note *c*) for the Israelite kingdom, we get 908 years, etc. instead of 947 years

forty-seven years after their forefathers went out of Egypt and occupied this country under the command of Joshua [a]; and from the time when they revolted from Roboamos, the grandson of David, and gave the kingdom over to Jeroboam, as I have previously related,[b] it was an interval of two hundred and forty years, seven months and seven days.[c] To such an end, then, did the Israelites come because they violated the laws and disregarded the prophets who foretold that this misfortune would overtake them if they did not cease from their impious actions. The beginning of their troubles was the rebellion they undertook against Roboamos, the grandson of David, when they chose as their king his servant Jeroboam, who sinned against the Deity and thereby made Him their enemy, for they imitated his lawless conduct. But such was the punishment which he [d] deservedly suffered.

Tyrian records of the Assyrian invasion.

(2) And the king of Assyria came with an army and invaded Syria and all of Phoenicia. Now the name of this king is recorded in the Tyrian archives,

[b] *Ant.* viii. 221 ff.

[c] This is the actual total of the regnal years of the Israelite kings as given by Josephus, reckoned as follows:

Jeroboam	22 years	(*Ant.* viii. 287)	Jehoahaz	17 years	(*Ant.* ix. 173)
Nadab	2 ,,	(,, ,, ,,)	Joash	16 ,,	(,, ,, 177)
Baasha	24 ,,	(,, ,, 298)	Jeroboam	40 ,,	(*Ant.* ix. 205, 218)
Elah	2 ,,	(,, ,, 307)	Zachariah	6 months	(*Ant.* ix. 228)
Zimri	7 days	(,, ,, 311)	Shallum	1 month	(,, ,, ,,)
Omri	12 years	(,, ,, 312)	Menahem	10 years	(,, ,, 232)
Ahab	22 ,,	(,, ,, 316)	Pekahiah	2 ,,	(,, ,, 234)
Ahaziah	3 ,, (*vid.*)	(*Ant.* ix. 19)	Pekah	20 ,,	(,, ,, ,,)
Jehoram	12 ,,	(,, ,, 27)	Hoshea	9 ,,	(,, ,, 258)
Jehu	27 ,,	(,, ,, 160)			

Total, 240 years 7 months 7 days

[d] Apparently Jeroboam is meant.

ἀναγέγραπται· ἐστράτευσε γὰρ ἐπὶ Τύρον βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς Ἐλουλαίου μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα μεταφράσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν, ὃς οὕτως ἐδήλωσε·
284 " καὶ Ἐλουλαῖος θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας[1] ὄνομα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα ἕξ. οὗτος ἀποστάντων Κιτιέων[2] ἀναπλεύσας προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Σελάμψας[3] ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν, ὅστις σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω·
285 ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδὼν καὶ Ἄρκη καὶ ἡ πάλαι Τύρος καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις, αἳ τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑαυτὰς βασιλεῖ παρέδοσαν. διὸ[4] Τυρίων οὐχ ὑποταγέντων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑπέστρεψε, Φοινίκων συμπληρωσάντων αὐτῷ ναῦς
286 ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐπικώπους ὀκτακοσίους. αἷς ἐπιπλεύσαντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυσὶ δεκαδύο τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων διασπαρεισῶν λαμβάνουσιν αἰχμαλώτους ἄνδρας εἰς πεντακοσίους· ἐπετάθη δὴ πάντων
287 ἐν Τύρῳ τιμὴ διὰ ταῦτα· ἀναζεύξας δ'[5] ὁ τῶν

[1] Πύλας (M)SP.
[2] Niese: Κιτταίων codd. Cetuteis Lat.
[3] τούτου Σελάμψας Niese· τούτοις ἐλαμψᾶς O τούτους **άμψας (post τούτους duae litterae incertae) R· τούτους πέμψας MSPLV contra quos denuo Salamanassis—insurgens Lat.
[4] δι' ἃ RO.
[5] διὰ ταῦτα ἀναζεύξας δ'] διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναζεύξας RO.

[a] The name appears as Luli in Assyrian sources, *cf.* A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 265 and *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 382.
[b] *Cf. Ant.* viii. 144, *Ap.* i 116 note *c.*
[c] Variant Pylas
[d] Emended text, one MS "In these circumstances

for he marched upon Tyre in the reign of Elulaios.[a] This is also attested by Menander,[b] the author of a book of Annals and translator of the Tyrian archives into the Greek language, who has given the following account: "And Elulaios, to whom they gave the name of Pyas,[c] reigned thirty-six years. This king, upon the revolt of the Kitieis (Cyprians), put out to sea and again reduced them to submission. During his reign Selampsas,[d] the king of Assyria, came with an army and invaded all Phoenicia and, after making a treaty of peace with all (its cities), withdrew from the land.[e] And Sidon and Arke[f] and Old Tyre and many other cities also revolted from Tyre and surrendered to the king of Assyria. But, as the Tyrians for that reason would not submit to him, the king turned back again and attacked them after the Phoenicians had furnished him with sixty ships and eight hundred oarsmen. Against these the Tyrians sailed with twelve ships and, after dispersing the ships of their adversaries, took five hundred of their men prisoners. On that account, in fact, the price of everything went up in Tyre.[g] But the king of

Elampsas", other mss. "Against them sent (the king of Assyria, etc.)." Whether or not Menander so wrote the name is open to question, and Niese's emendation is to be accepted with hesitancy. Josephus, at any rate, has failed to comment on the form Selampsas and its connexion with the name Salmanasses used earlier in his text (§ 277) and directly after the excerpt (§ 287). Shalmaneser is evidently meant.

[e] Lit. "backwards."

[f] Probably Arkē in Lebanon; *cf. Ant.* i. 139 note *b*.

[g] It is the merit of Grotius (*ap.* Hudson-Havercamp) to have seen the correct meaning of the phrase ἐπετάθη τιμή, translated by others as "the glory increased." But, as T. Reinach has further noted, the sentence belongs at the end of the quotation from Menander, since it states the results of the scarcity of water caused by the Assyrians.

Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατέστησε φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, οἳ διακωλύσουσι Τυρίους ἀρύεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔτεσι πέντε γενόμενον ἐκαρτέρησαν πίνοντες ἐκ φρεάτων ὀρυκτῶν" καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις γεγραμμένα κατὰ Σαλμανάσσου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

288 (3) Οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθαῖοι (ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο μέχρι δεῦρο τῇ προσηγορίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶ καλουμένης χώρας μεταχθῆναι, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνομα) ἕκαστοι κατὰ ἔθνος ἴδιον θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες (πέντε δ' ἦσαν), καὶ τούτους καθὼς ἦν πάτριον αὐτοῖς σεβόμενοι παροξύνουσι τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ χόλον.
289 λοιμὸν[1] γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέσκηψεν, ὑφ' οὗ φθειρόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν τῶν κακῶν θεραπείαν ἐπινοοῦντες, χρησμῷ θρησκεύειν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ὡς τοῦτο σωτήριον αὐτοῖς ὄν, ἔμαθον. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἱερεῖς αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας
290 πολεμήσας ἀποστεῖλαι. πέμψαντος δέ, τά τε[2] νόμιμα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὁσίαν διδαχθέντες[3] ἐθρήσκευον αὐτὸν φιλοτίμως καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐπαύσαντο. χρώμενοί τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔθεσι διατελοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Χουθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλ-

[1] λοιμὸς MSP Lat.
[2] δέ, τά τε Hudson: τά τε M: δὲ τὰ VE: τε τὰ rell
[3] E Lat. Zonaras (vid.) ταχθέντες codd.

[a] *Cf.* § 279 note *f*. [b] *Cf. ibid.* note *e*.

Assyria, on retiring, placed guards at the river and the aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water, and this they endured for five years, and drank from wells which they had dug" This, then, is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Salmanassēs, the king of Assyria

(3) As for the Chūthaioi who were transported to Samaria—this is the name by which they have been called to this day because of having been brought over from the region called Chūtha, which is in Persia, as is a river by the same name—,[a] each of their tribes—there were five[b]—brought along its own god, and, as they reverenced them in accordance with the custom of their country, they provoked the Most High God to anger and wrath For He visited upon them a pestilence[c] by which they were destroyed, and, as they could devise no remedy for their sufferings, they learned from an oracle that they should worship the Most High God, for this would bring them deliverance[d] And so they sent envoys to the king of Assyria, asking him to send them some priests from the captives he had taken in his war with the Israelites Accordingly, he sent some priests,[e] and they,[f] after being instructed in the ordinances and religion of this God, worshipped Him with great zeal, and were at once freed of the pestilence These same rites have continued in use even to this day among those who are called Chūthaioi (Cuthim) in the Hebrew tongue, and Samareitai (Samaritans) by the Greeks; but they alter their

The Cuthaeans or Samaritans 2 Kings xvii 24

[c] Bibl "and the Lord sent lions against them" Josephus rationalizes, as usually

[d] The reference to an oracle is unscriptural

[e] Bibl "one of the priests"

[f] The Samaritans.

291 λήνων Σαμαρεῖται, οἳ πρὸς μεταβολὴν συγγενεῖς[1] μὲν ὅταν εὖ πράττοντας[2] βλέπωσι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους[3] ἀποκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἐξ Ἰωσήπου φύντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες οἰκειότητος, ὅταν δὲ πταίσαντας ἴδωσιν, οὐδαμόθεν αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγουσιν οὐδ᾽ εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας ἢ γένους, ἀλλὰ μετοίκους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς. περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕξομεν εὐκαιρότερον εἰπεῖν.

[1] καὶ συγγένειαν ROSPV.
[2] εὖ πράττοντας M²SP εὐπραγοῦντας rell.
[3] + συγγενεῖς Hudson (qui supra καὶ συγγένειαν leg.)

attitude according to circumstance and, when they see the Jews prospering, call them their kinsmen, on the ground that they are descended from Joseph and are related to them through their origin from him, but, when they see the Jews in trouble, they say that they have nothing whatever in common with them nor do these have any claim of friendship or race, and they declare themselves to be aliens of another race. Now concerning these people we shall have something to say in a more fitting place [a]

[a] *Ant.* xi 19 ff., 84 ff., 114 ff, 174 ff, 340 ff., xii. 257 ff

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ι

(i. 1) Ἐζεκίου δὲ τοῦ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλέως τέταρτον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντος ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων[1] βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος[2] ὄνομα στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατὰ κράτος τε ἁπάσας αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλεις τὰς
2 τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος. μέλλοντος δ' ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα φθάνει πρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπακούσεσθαι καὶ φόρον ὃν ἂν τάξῃ τελέσειν ὑπισχνούμενος. Σεναχείριμος δὲ μαθὼν τὰ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἔγνω μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν προσδέχεται, καὶ ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα τριακόσια χρυσίου δὲ τριάκοντα λαβὼν φίλος ἀναχωρήσειν ὡμολόγει, πίστεις δοὺς τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐνόρκους ἦ μὴν ἀδικήσας
3 μηδὲν αὐτὸν οὕτως ἀναστρέψειν. ὁ δ' Ἐζεκίας πεισθεὶς καὶ κενώσας τοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπει τὰ χρήματα, νομίζων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου[3]
4 καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγῶνος. ὁ δ' Ἀσσύριος λαβὼν ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ὡμολογημένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόν-

[1] Βαβυλωνίων RO
[2] Niese Σενάχειρος RO · Σαναχείριβος M[1]: Σεναχήριμος M[2]: Σενναχήριβος SP[1] · Σενναχηρεὶμ P[2] Lat.. Σεναχήρειμος VE
[3] πολεμίου MSP.

[a] Variant " Babylonia "

BOOK X

Hezekiah submits to Sennacherib (Senacheirimos) 2 Kings xviii. 13.

(i. 1) Now Hezekiah, the king of the two tribes, had occupied the throne for fourteen years when the king of Assyria,[a] named Senacheirimos,[b] marched against him with a great armament and took by storm all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.[c] And he was about to lead his force against Jerusalem also, but, before he could do so, Hezekiah sent envoys to him [d] and promised to submit to him and pay whatever tribute he should impose. When Senacheirimos heard what the envoys had to say, he decided not to continue with the war, but acceded to the request and, on receiving three hundred talents of silver and thirty of gold, agreed to withdraw amicably, and gave sworn pledges to the envoys that he would do him no harm at all but would retire under these terms.[e] So Hezekiah, being persuaded by this offer, emptied his treasuries and sent the money in the belief that he would be rid of the war [f] and the struggle for his throne. But, when the Assyrian received the money, he paid no regard to the agreement he had made; instead,

[b] Conjectured form: mss. Senacheiros, Sennacheribos, etc.; bibl. Sennacherib (*Sanḥērīb*), LXX *Σενναχηρείμ* (*cf. B.J.* v. 387).

[c] Benjamin is not mentioned in Scripture.

[d] At Lachish, according to Scripture.

[e] Sennacherib's sworn pledge is a detail added by Josephus.

[f] Variant "enemy."

τισεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Αἰθίοπας, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Ῥαψάκην μετὰ πολλῆς ἰσχύος σὺν καὶ δυσὶν ἄλλοις τῶν ἐν τέλει κατέλιπε πορθήσοντας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τούτων δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα Θαρατὰ καὶ Ἀράχαρις ἦν

5 (2) Ὡς δ' ἐλθόντες πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἐζεκίαν ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγους. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ δειλίας οὐ πρόεισι, τρεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους φίλους αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψε, τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπίτροπον Ἐλιακίαν ὄνομα καὶ Σουβαναῖον[1] καὶ Ἰώαχον[2]

6 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προελθόντες[3] ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔστησαν, θεασάμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥαψάκης ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθόντας Ἐζεκίᾳ λέγειν ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας Σεναχείριμος πυνθάνεται αὐτοῦ τίνι θαρρῶν καὶ πεποιθὼς φεύγει δεσπότην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι μὴ θέλει καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ δέχεται τῇ πόλει, ἢ διὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν αὐτοῦ[4] στρατιὰν ἐλπίζων ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῶν[5] κατ-

[1] Σομναίαν MSP Σωμνᾶν V · Σομανᾶν L marg : Sobaneam Lat.
[2] Ἰώανον R Ἰώαννον O Ἰω(α)σαφάτην LV Ioan Lat.
[3] ex Lat. Hudson : ἐλθόντες O · προσελθόντες rell
[4] ἑαυτοῦ MSP. [5] αὐτὸν SPLV.

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[a] Scripture does not mention Sennacherib's attack on the Egyptians at this point, it is found further on in 2 Kings xix. 8.

[b] So LXX, bibl Rab-shakeh (in Assyrian a title, not a personal name, so also the two following)

while he himself took the field against the Egyptians and Ethiopians,[a] he left behind his general Rapsakēs [b] with a large force, and also two other commanding officers, to sack Jerusalem The names of these men were Tharata [c] and Aracharis [d]

The Assyrians threaten Jerusalem. 2 Kings xviii. 17

(2) When they arrived, they encamped before the walls [e] and sent to Hezekiah and asked him to parley with them. He, however, out of cowardice [f] did not himself come out but sent out three of the friends who were closest to him, the steward of the kingdom,[g] named Eliakias,[h] and Sūbanaios [i] and Jōachos,[j] who was in charge of the records So these three came forward and stood facing the commanders of the Assyrian army; and, when the general Rapsakēs saw them, he told them to go back to Hezekiah and say that the great king Senacheirimos was inquiring of him on what he so confidently relied that he avoided his master and was unwilling to listen to him and would not admit his army into the city Was it perhaps, he asked, because of the Egyptians, and in the hope that the Assyrian army had been beaten by them? If this

[c] Bibl Tartan, LXX cod B Θανθάν, cod. A et al. Θαρθάν, Luc Ταυθάν.

[d] Bibl. Rab-saris, LXX Ῥαφείς, Luc Ῥαψείς.

[e] Scripture specifies "by the conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller's field"

[f] Hezekiah's "cowardice" is an unscriptural detail.

[g] Bibl. "who was over the house" (A.V. "household"), LXX ὁ οἰκονόμος "the steward."

[h] Bibl. Eliakim (*'Ĕlyāqîm*), LXX Ἐλιακείμ; Josephus, like Luc., omits "the son of Hilkiah."

[i] Variant Somnaias, bibl Shebna, LXX Σόμνας; Scripture adds his title, "the scribe."

[j] Variants Joan(n)os, Jo(a)saphates; bibl. Joah, son of Asaph (*Yô'āḥ ben 'Āsāph*), LXX Ἰωσαφάτ (*v.l.* Ἰωὰς υἱὸς Σαφάτ), Luc. Ἰωὰχ υἱὸς Σαφάν.

7 αγωνίσασθαι, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο προσδοκᾷ, δηλοῦν[1] αὐτῷ
ὅτι ἀνόητός ἐστι καὶ ὅμοιος ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς καλάμῳ
ἐπερειδόμενος τεθλασμένῳ πρὸς τῷ καταπεσεῖν
ἔτι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα διαπαρεὶς ᾔσθετο τῆς βλάβης.
εἰδέναι δ' ὅτι καὶ βουλήσει θεοῦ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
στρατείαν πεποίηται, ὃς αὐτῷ καταστρέψασθαι καὶ
τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείαν δέδωκεν, ἵνα τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
8 διαφθείρῃ ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ῥαψάκην ἑβραιστὶ λέ-
γοντα, τῆς γὰρ γλώττης εἶχεν ἐμπείρως, ὁ Ἐλια-
κίας, φοβούμενος μὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπακοῦσαν εἰς
ταραχὴν ἐμπέσῃ, συριστὶ φράζειν ἠξίου συνεὶς δ'
ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ὑπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
δέος, μείζονι καὶ διατόρῳ τῇ φωνῇ χρώμενος ἀπ-
εκρίνατο αὐτῷ ἑβραιστὶ λέγειν,[2] "ὅπως ἀκούσαντες
τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα πάντες τὸ συμφέρον
9 ἕλωνται παραδόντες αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸν
λαὸν ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίσι παρακρουό-
μενοι ματαίαις ἀντέχειν πείθετε εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖτε
καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν ἀπώσεσθαι νομίζετε, δισ-
χιλίους ἐκ τῆς ἐμοὶ παρούσης ἵππους ἑτοιμός εἰμι
ὑμῖν παρέχειν,[3] οἷς ἰσαρίθμους ἐπιβάτας δόντες
ἐμφανίσατε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν οὕς γε
10 μὴ ἔχετε τούτους δοίητε[4] τί τοιγαροῦν βραδύνετε

[1] δηλοῦτε SP· δῆλον LV
[2] Dindorf· λέγων codd. E Lat.
[3] ἑτοιμός εἰμι ὑμῖν παρέχειν Niese: ἕτοιμος εἴην ὑμῖν παρέχειν RO· εἰς ἑτοιμασίαν ὑμῖν παρέχειν ἑτοιμός εἰμι MSP: ἑτοιμασίαν παρέχει ὑμῖν LV.
[4] Dindorf: δῴητε codd

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[a] Bibl "thou trustest upon the staff of this broken (A.V. "bruised") reed, upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it"

was what he expected, they should, he said, make clear to him that he was very foolish and like a man who leans upon a broken reed and not only falls but also has his hand pierced, and feels the hurt.[a] They should know, he said, that by the will of God, who had granted him to overthrow the kingdom of the Israelites also, he had made this expedition against Hezekiah in order that he might in the same way destroy those ruled by him. As Rapsakēs spoke these words in Hebrew, with which language he was familiar, Eliakias was afraid that the people might overhear them and be thrown into consternation, and so asked him to speak in Aramaic.[b] But the general, perceiving what was in the back of his mind and the fear that held him, spoke in a very loud and clear voice and replied that he was speaking to him in Hebrew[c] "in order that all may hear the king's commands and choose a course to their advantage by surrendering to us. For it is clear that both you and the king are beguiling the people with vain hopes in persuading them to resist. If, however, you are confident and think you can repulse our force, I am ready to furnish you with two thousand of the horses that are with me, in order that you may mount on them the same number of riders and so show your strength.[d] But you cannot furnish riders whom you do not have. Why, then,

The Assyrian general demands the surrender of Jerusalem. 2 Kings xviii. 28.

[b] Josephus, like the LXX, uses συριστί "in the Syrian language" (so A.V. renders), "Syria" and "Syrian" being the Greek names for Aram and Aramaean or Aramaic.

[c] Bibl. "in the Judaean (A.V. "Jews'") language," LXX Ἰουδαϊστί.

[d] In Scripture this proposal is made earlier (vs. 23), before the Jews request Rab-shakeh to speak Aramaic (vs. 26).

παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κρεὶττοσι καὶ ληψομένοις ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ θέλοντας, καίτοι τὸ μὲν ἑκούσιον τῆς παραδόσεως ἀσφαλὲς ὑμῖν, τὸ δ' ἀκούσιον πολεμουμένοις ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ συμφορῶν αἴτιον φανεῖται "[1]

11 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ὅ τε δῆμος καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων λέγοντος ἀπήγγειλαν Ἐζεκίᾳ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποδὺς ἐσθῆτα, ἀμφιασάμενος δὲ σάκκους καὶ σχῆμα ταπεινὸν ἀναλαβών, τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευε καὶ βοηθῆσαι τῷ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἐλπίδα ἔχοντι σωτηρίας ἠντιβόλει.
12 πέμψας δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πρὸς Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἠξίου δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποιησάμενον θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν νεμεσῆσαι μὲν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίσιν ἐλεῆσαι δὲ τὸν αὑτοῦ[2] λαόν
13 ὁ δὲ προφήτης ταῦτα ποιήσας χρηματίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους, προλέγων ἀμαχητὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡττηθέντας ἀναχωρήσειν αἰσχρῶς καὶ
14 οὐχὶ μεθ' οἵου νῦν εἰσι θράσους· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν προνοεῖν ὅπως διαφθαρῶσι καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων Σεναχείριμον διαμαρτόντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πραγμάτων καὶ ἐπανερχόμενον[3] εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολεῖσθαι σιδήρῳ προύλεγεν.

15 (4) Ἔτυχε δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ γεγραφὼς

[1] φαίνεται MSP
[2] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
[3] Ernesti: παρερχόμενον codd. E: remearet Lat.

do you hesitate to surrender to those who are stronger than yourselves and will take you whether you like it or not? Nevertheless a voluntary surrender means safety for you, while an involuntary one after your defeat will prove to be dangerous and the cause of misfortunes." [a]

Isaiah foretells the Assyrian retreat 2 Kings xviii. 37.

(3) When the people and the envoys had heard these words of the Assyrian general, they reported them to Hezekiah. And he thereupon took off his royal garments, put on sackcloth and assumed an attitude of humility, then, falling on his face in the manner of his country, he supplicated God and entreated Him to help one who had no other hope of salvation.[b] He also sent some of his friends and some of the priests to the prophet Isaiah and asked him to pray to God and, when he had offered sacrifices for the common safety,[c] to exhort Him to show His wrath at the hopes of the enemy, but to take pity on His own people. And, when the prophet had done these things and received an oracle from God, he encouraged both the king himself and the friends who were with him by foretelling that the enemy would be defeated without a battle and retire ignominiously, with none of the self-confidence which they now showed, for God would see to it that they should be destroyed; and he also foretold that Senacheirimos, the king of Assyria, would himself fail in his attempt against Egypt and on his return to his own land would perish by the sword.

Hezekiah defies

(4) Now it happened that about this time the king

[a] Josephus greatly shortens Rab-shakeh's speech.
[b] Bibl. "he rent his clothes and covered himself with sackcloth and went into the house of the Lord."
[c] Sacrifices are not mentioned in Scripture.

τῷ Ἐζεκίᾳ ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἀνόητον μὲν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ διαφεύξεσθαι δουλείαν, ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κεχειρωμένῳ, ἠπείλει δὲ πανωλεθρίᾳ διαφθερεῖν[1] αὐτὸν παραλαβών, εἰ μὴ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἑκὼν αὐτοῦ δέξεται[2] τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.
16 ταῦτ᾽ ἀναγνοὺς καταφρονεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίθησιν, τὰς δ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς πτύξας εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἔσω κατέθετο. πάλιν δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἁπάντων σωτηρίας, Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης ἐπήκοον αὐτὸν ἔφασκε γεγονέναι καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ πολιορκηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου,[3] τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι[4] πάντων ἀδεεῖς[5] τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ[6] γενομένους[7] γεωργήσειν[8] μετ᾽ εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελήσε-
17 σθαι κτημάτων οὐδὲν φοβουμένους. ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς διαμαρτὼν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιβολῆς[9] ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου δι᾽ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην· πολὺς αὐτῷ χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πρὸς τὴν Πηλουσίου πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῶν χωμάτων ἤδη μετεώρων ὄντων, ἃ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤγειρε, καὶ ὅσον οὔπω μέλλοντος προσβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀκούει τὸν τῶν

[1] Niese: διαφθείρειν codd. E.
[2] SE: δέξηται rell.
[3] MSP: Σύρου rell.: Assyrius Lat.
[4] τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι MSP: μέλλοντι ROL: μέλλοντα V: μέλλειν τε Niese.
[5] M: ἀνεὶς RO: ἂν εἶναι ἀδεεῖς SP: ἀνεῖναι LV Lat.
[6] τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ Niese: τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ codd.
[7] M: γενομένων rell.
[8] + τε SPLV: ἀοργητὶ RO.
[9] ex Lat. Dindorf: ἐπιβουλῆς codd.

of Assyria had written a letter to Hezekiah, in which he said that he was foolish to suppose that he would escape being made his servant, since he had subdued many great nations, and he threatened to destroy him utterly and completely after capturing him, unless he opened the gates and willingly admitted his army into Jerusalem. When Hezekiah read these words, he made light of them because of his confidence inspired by God, but he folded up the letter and laid it away within the temple. And, when he offered a second prayer to God on behalf of the city and the safety of all, the prophet Isaiah told him that He had hearkened to his prayer, and that at the present time he would not be besieged by the Assyrian,[a] while in the future his subjects, relieved of all apprehension, would till their land in peace and look after their own possessions without fear of anything.[b] A little while after this the king of Assyria failed in his attack upon the Egyptians and returned home without accomplishing anything for the following reason. After he had spent a great deal of time on the siege of Pelusium,[c] and the earthworks which he was raising against the walls had already reached a great height,[d] and he was on the point of attacking, he heard that Thar-

Sennacherib 2 Kings xix. 10.

Sennacherib's failure in Egypt 2 Kings xix. 9

[a] Variant "Syrian."
[b] Text slightly uncertain.
[c] Pelusium is substituted by Josephus for bibl. Libnah (*cf.* § 81 note) from the text of Herodotus who is quoted directly below. (According to the Assyrian records Sennacherib defeated the Egyptians and Ethiopians at Elteqeh in the Philistine plain.)
[d] Unscriptural detail.

Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα Θαρσίκην πολλὴν ἄγοντα δύναμιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἥκειν διεγνωκότα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐμβαλεῖν.
18 ταραχθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεναχείριμος ἄπρακτος, ὡς ἔφην, ἀνεχώρησε, καταλιπὼν τὸ Πηλούσιον. περὶ τούτου τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτοῦ φησὶν[1] ὡς οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔλθοι βασιλέα ἱερέα ὄντα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, πολιορκῶν δὲ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· ηὔξατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς πληγὴν
19 ἐνσκήπτει τῷ Ἄραβι (πλανᾶται γὰρ[2] κἂν τούτῳ οὐκ Ἀσσυρίων λέγων τὸν βασιλέα ἀλλ' Ἀράβων) μυῶν γὰρ πλῆθός φησι μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅπλα διαφαγεῖν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἔχοντα τόξα τὸν βασιλέα τὴν στρατιὰν
20 ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλουσίου. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὕτως ἱστορεῖ, Βηρωσὸς δὲ ὁ τὰ Χαλδαικὰ συγγραψάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου, καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦρχε καὶ ὅτι πάσῃ ἐπεστρατεύσατο τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ[3] λέγων οὕτως[4]

[1] ἄπρακτος, ὡς ἔφην . . . φησὶν] ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν Ἡφαίστου στρατεῦσαι ἔλεγεν ROM Lat.; quae in codd SPLV extant a librariis ex coniectura invecta esse putat Niese

[2] + Ἡρόδοτος SPLV

[3] καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ om RO

[4] λέγων οὕτως om LV fort recte

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[a] Bibl. Tirhakah, LXX Θαρά (v.l Θαρακά), Luc. Θαρθάκ.

[b] Herod ii 141. For " without accomplishing anything

sikēs,[a] the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force and had decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly. And so, being alarmed at this news, King Senacheirimos left Pelusium and withdrew, as I said, without accomplishing anything. Concerning this Senacheirimos, Herodotus also tells us, in the second book of his History,[b] that this king came against the king of Egypt, who was a priest of Hephaestus, and besieged Pelusium. but he abandoned the siege for the following reason. The king of Egypt prayed to God, and God hearkened to his prayer and visited a plague upon the Arab—at just this point he is in error, calling him king of the Arabs instead of king of the Assyrians [c]—for, he says, in one night a host of mice ate through the bows and other weapons of the Assyrians, and, as the king on that account had no bows, he withdrew his army from Pelusium. This, then, is the account which Herodotus gives. But Berosus, who wrote the *History of Chaldaea*, also mentions King Senacheirimos and tells how he ruled over the Assyrians and how he made an expedition against all Asia and Egypt [d]; he writes as follows . . . [e]

Herodotu account o Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt

. . . in the second book of his History " the variant in Josephus reads " to march against the priest of Hephaestus; he says," etc. Niese suspects that there was a lacuna at this point in Josephus's text and that the words translated above have been interpolated by a scribe.

[c] On first mentioning Sennacherib, however, Herodotus calls him " king of the Arabs and Assyrians."

[d] The variant omits " and Egypt."

[e] The variant omits " he writes as follows." It is more likely, however, that a quotation from Berosus originally followed and has been lost from Josephus's text.

21 (5) Ὑποστρέψας δ᾿ ὁ Σεναχείριμος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πολέμου εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατέλαβεν[1] ἐκεῖ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ῥαψάκῃ δύναμιν διὰ λοιμοῦ κινδυνεύουσαν[2] τοῦ γὰρ[3] θεοῦ λοιμικὴν ἐνσκήψαντος[4] αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ νόσον, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα τῆς πολιορκίας διαφθείρονται μυριάδες ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι
22 σὺν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ταξιάρχοις[5] ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς φόβον καὶ δεινὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστὰς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ φεύγει μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ[6] βασιλείαν τὴν
23 Νίνου προσαγορευθεῖσαν καὶ διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ ὀλίγον χρόνον δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παίδων Ἀνδρομάχου[7] καὶ Σελευκάρου[8] τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀνετέθη[9] τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ Ἀράσκῃ λεγομένῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγαδευθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπῆραν, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν μετ᾿ αὐτοὺς κατα-

[1] Zonaras καταλαβὼν codd. E
[2] διὰ λοιμοῦ κινδυνεύουσαν ex Lat. add Hudson
[3] γὰρ ex Lat add. Hudson
[4] M Zonaras ἐκπέμψαντος ROSPLV: πέμψαντος E.
[5] Dindorf· ταξιάρχαις codd
[6] Niese· αὐτοῦ codd. E.
[7] Ἀδραμελέχου LV· Adramelech Lat.
[8] Σαρασάρου LV Seleusaro Lat
[9] ἀνηρήθη LV Zonaras

[a] The words "in danger from a plague," omitted from the mss, have been supplied by Hudson from the Latin.
[b] Variant "sent down"
[c] Josephus, as usual, rationalistically interprets the scriptural expression, "the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians," etc, as a reference to

A plague routs the Assyrians. 2 Kings xix. 35

(5) When Senacheirimos returned to Jerusalem from his war with Egypt, he found there the force under Rapsakēs in danger from a plague,[a] for God had visited[b] a pestilential sickness upon his army,[c] and on the first night of the siege one hundred and eighty-five thousand men had perished with their commanders and officers. By this calamity he was thrown into a state of alarm and terrible anxiety, and, fearing for his entire army, he fled with the rest of his force to his own realm, called the kingdom of Ninos.[d] And, after remaining there a short while, he was treacherously attacked by his elder sons Andromachos[e] and Seleukaros,[f] and so died; and he was laid to rest[g] in his own temple, called Araskē.[h] And these two were driven out by their countrymen for the murder of their father, and went away to Armenia[i]; and the successor to the throne was

Murder of Sennacherib. 2 Kings xix. 37.

the (bubonic) plague, also indicated in Herodotus's story of the mice. But *cf. B.J.* v. 388 (Josephus's speech to the Jews of Jerusalem), where he speaks of the "angel of the Lord" destroying the Assyrian host. There he retains the biblical expression for rhetorical effect, or perhaps, as Rappaport thinks, because "he avoids rationalizing when addressing the Jews."

[d] Bibl. Nineveh, *cf. Ant.* ix. 208 note *a*.

[e] Bibl. Adrammelech, LXX Ἀδραμέλεχ (*cf. v.l.* in Jos.).

[f] Bibl. Sharezer, LXX Σαράσαρ (*cf. v.l.* in Jos.), Luc. Σαράσα.

[g] Or perhaps "his image was set up"; the variant "he was slain" is probably a scribal alteration based on Scripture, which says that he was killed in the temple, but says nothing of his burial.

[h] Bibl. Nisroch, LXX Ἐσδράχ (*v.l.* Νεσεράχ κτλ.), Luc. Ἀσράχ. Scripture gives this as the name of Sennacherib's god. The bibl. form Nisroch is undoubtedly a corruption of an Assyrian name, the original of which is not certain.

[i] Heb. and LXX Ararat, Targum Qardu, A.V. Armenia.

φρονῶν τοῦ Σεναχειρίμου[1] Ἀσαραχόδδας.[2] καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας τέλος τοιοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι.

24 (ii. 1) Ἐζεκίας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς παραδόξως ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῶν φόβων χαριστηρίους σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ θυσίας ἐπετέλεσε τῷ θεῷ, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν διαφθειράσης τοὺς δὲ φόβῳ τῆς ὁμοίας τελευτῆς ἀπαλλαξάσης ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
25 θεοῦ. πάσῃ δὲ χρησάμενος σπουδῇ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ περὶ τὸν θεόν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ νόσῳ χαλεπῇ περιπεσὼν ἀπέγνωστο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, χρηστὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ[3] οὐδὲν προσεδόκων[4] οὐδ'[5] οἱ φίλοι. τῇ δὲ νόσῳ προσετίθετο καὶ ἀθυμία δεινὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀπαιδίαν λογιζομένου, καὶ ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν ἔρημον καταλιπὼν τὸν οἶκον καὶ
26 τὴν ἀρχὴν γνησίας διαδοχῆς. κάμνων οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐννοίας μάλιστα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος ἱκέτευε τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ ζωῆς ὀλίγον χρόνον προσεπιδοῦναι μέχρι τέκνων γονῆς, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ πατὴρ γένηται
27 τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι καταλιπεῖν. ἐλεήσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀποδεξάμενος, ὅτι

[1] τῶν . . . Σεναχειρίμου om. Lat., haud dubie corrupta.
[2] Ναχορδᾶς (-άς P) SPL marg.: υἱὸς Ἀραχοδᾶς V.
[3] αὐτοῦ OP².
[4] προσδοκῶν ROMSP.
[5] οὐδ' Naber: οὐδὲ γὰρ codd.

[a] Bibl. Esarhaddon, LXX Ἀσορδάν (v.l. Ἀσοραδδάν κτλ.).
[b] The text is obscure. According to Scripture, Esarhaddon was a son of Sennacherib, but it is not known where Josephus derived his information about the "sons of Senacheirimos next in line," or even that Adrammelech and Sharezer were the two elder sons. The passage from Berosus (in Alexander Polyhistor, *ap.* Eusebius, *Chronicon*) cited by Reinach does not throw light on the matter. Josephus, however, is right in indicating that Esarhaddon

Asarachoddas,[a] who disregarded the rights of the sons of Senacheirimos next in line.[b] To such an end was the Assyrian expedition against Jerusalem fated to come.

(ii. 1) Having been thus wonderfully delivered from the fate which he feared, King Hezekiah together with all the people offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, for the destruction of some of the enemy and the removal of the rest from Jerusalem had had no other cause than the aid given by their ally God.[c] But, though he showed all zeal and devotion in the worship of God, he was smitten by a severe illness, and all hope for him was given up by the physicians, nor did his friends have any expectation of a change for the better in his condition.[d] And the illness was aggravated by the dreadful despair of the king himself when he considered his childlessness and that he was about to die leaving his house and his realm unprovided with a legitimate successor.[e] And so, suffering chiefly from this thought and lamenting it, he supplicated God to give him a little longer time to live, until he should beget children, and not let him depart this life before becoming a father. Then God took pity on him and granted his request, since

Hezekiah's illness and its miraculous cure

2 Kings xx. 1; Isaiah xxxviii. 1

was a younger son, *cf.* A. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 337 f.

[c] The preceding is an addition to Scripture.

[d] Text slightly uncertain. The detail about Hezekiah's friends and physicians is not found in Scripture, which says merely, "And the prophet Isaiah, the son of Amoz, came to him and said, Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order for thou art about to die and shalt not live."

[e] Hezekiah's concern about a successor is an unscriptural detail; it has a parallel in rabbinic tradition, according to which Isaiah rebuked Hezekiah for failing to beget children, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 273.

μὴ διὰ τὸ μέλλειν στέρεσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαθῶν ὠδύρετο τὴν ὑπονοηθεῖσαν τελευτὴν ἔτι τε[1] χρόνον ζωῆς αὐτῷ δεηθείη παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παῖδας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεξομένους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνου, πέμψας Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ὅτι καὶ[2] διαφεύξεται τὴν νόσον μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καὶ βιώσεται μετ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γενήσονται

28 ταῦτα τοῦ προφήτου φήσαντος κατ᾽ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν ἀπηγγελμένων[3] ἀπιστῶν σημεῖόν τι καὶ τεράστιον ἠξίου ποιῆσαι τὸν Ἡσαίαν, ἵν᾽ αὐτῷ πιστεύσῃ λέγοντι ταῦτα ἥκοντι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ παράλογα καὶ μείζω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ὁμοίοις

29 πιστοῦται πράγμασιν ἐρωτήσαντος δ᾽ αὐτὸν τί βούλεται σημεῖον γενέσθαι, τὸν ἥλιον ἠξίωσεν, ἐπειδὴ σκιὰν ἐπὶ δέκα βαθμοὺς ἀποκλίνας ἤδη πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναστρέψαι τόπον ποιήσας αὐτὴν πάλιν παρασχεῖν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὸν θεὸν παρακαλέσαντος ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιδεῖξαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἰδὼν ὅπερ

[1] Niese: δὲ ROLV · om. MSP.
[2] καὶ om MSP Lat
[3] ἐπηγγελμένων M Lat. fort. recte

[a] According to Scripture (and rabbinic tradition) God prolonged Hezekiah's life for the sake of his ancestor David Josephus apparently extends this to mean God's care for the cont... ...e of David's line.

he bewailed the death of which he had a presentiment, and had prayed to Him to give him yet a little while to live, not because he was about to be deprived of the benefits of the kingship, but because he wished sons to be born to him who should succeed to his royal power [a]; and so He sent the prophet Isaiah and told him to inform the king that within three days he should be rid of his illness and should live another fifteen years, and that sons would be born to him When the prophet at God's command told him these things, he would not believe him because of the severity of his illness and because the news brought to him [b] surpassed belief, and so he asked Isaiah to perform some sign or miracle in order that he might believe in him when he said these things, as in one who came from God For, he said, things that are beyond belief and surpass our hopes are made credible by acts of a like nature [c] When the prophet inquired what sign he wished to have performed, he asked him to cause the sun, which in declining had already cast a shadow of ten degrees in the house, to return to the same place and again cast one there [d] And, when the prophet exhorted God to show this sign to the king, he saw what he wished and was at

[b] Variant "the things promised him"

[c] That is, incredible statements can be accepted only when supported by equally incredible acts.

[d] What house (or chamber ?) is meant is not clear Scripture reads "let the shadow return backward ten degrees," apparently referring to a sun-dial Josephus's text (which, incidentally, seems to be corrupt) may refer to the shadow cast by the sun on the steps of Hezekiah's palace Too much importance, however, should not be given to the word βαθμούς (usually = "steps"), which Josephus has taken from the LXX where it renders Heb *ma'alôth* presumably meaning "degrees" (marked on a sun-dial).

ἤθελεν εὐθὺς λυθεὶς[1] τῆς νόσου ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσας εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο.
30 (2) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν
Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι· δηλώσω
δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις. ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
βασιλεὺς Βαλάδας ὄνομα πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἐζεκίαν
πρέσβεις δῶρα κομίζοντας[2] σύμμαχόν τε αὐτὸν
31 εἶναι παρεκάλει καὶ φίλον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς
ἡδέως ἀποδεξάμενος ἑστιασάμενός τε[3] καὶ τοὺς
θησαυροὺς ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων
παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολυτέλειαν, ὅσην ἐν
λίθοις εἶχε καὶ χρυσῷ, δῶρά τε δοὺς κομίζειν τῷ
32 Βαλάδῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. Ἡσαΐου δὲ τοῦ
προφήτου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ πυνθανο-
μένου πόθεν εἶεν οἱ παρόντες, ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλεγε
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν[4] ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς· ἐπιδεῖξαι δὲ
πάντ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἰδόντες τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ τὴν
δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου στοχαζόμενοι σημαίνειν ἔχωσι
33 τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης ὑποτυχὼν "ἴσθι,"
φησίν, "ὡς[5] μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Βαβυλῶνά σου
τοῦτον μετατεθησόμενον τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τοὺς
ἐκγόνους εὐνουχισθησομένους καὶ ἀπολέσαντας τὸ

[1] λυθείσης SPL
[2] E κομίσοντας vel κομίσαντας codd
[3] ἑστιασάμενός τε] καὶ ἑστιασάμενος MSP: ἑστιασάμενος LV: om. E Lat.
[4] κυρίου αὐτῶν] θεοῦ ROM: suo rege Lat.: βασιλέως ed. pr.
[5] οὐ ROLV: om. E.

[a] Hezekiah's prayer is an addition to Scripture (unless possibly based on 2 Chron. xxxii. 26 describing his self-humbling). On the other hand, Josephus omits the scriptural detail of his cure by means of a "cake of figs" applied to the boil (2 Kings xx. 7).

once freed from his illness; then he went up to the temple and did obeisance to God and offered prayers to Him.[a]

(2) Now it happened at this time that the empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes; but I shall write about this in another place.[b] And the king of Babylon, named Baladas,[c] sent envoys bearing gifts to Hezekiah and invited him to become his ally and friend.[d] Thereupon he gladly received the envoys and feasted[e] them; he also showed them his treasures and his array of arms and the rest of his wealth, all that he had in precious stones and in gold; then, having given them gifts to bring to Baladas,[f] he sent them back to him. But the prophet Isaiah came to him and inquired where the visitors were from, and he said that they had come from Babylon on behalf of their master,[g] and that he had showed them everything in order that they might surmise his power from what they saw of his wealth and be able to report it to their king.[h] The prophet however replied, "Know that in a short time this wealth of yours shall be taken away to Babylon and your offspring shall be made eunuchs and, after losing

The king of Babylon sends Hezekiah gifts 2 Kings xx. 12; Isaiah xxxix. 1

Isaiah predicts the Babylonian exile

[b] The reference seems to be to § 74 where there is brief mention of the fall of Assyria, but no detailed account.

[c] Bibl. 2 Kings Berodach-baladan, Isaiah Merodach-baladan, LXX Μαρωδαχβαλ(α)δάν.

[d] The proposed alliance is an unscriptural detail. Scripture says that Baladan sent presents "for he heard that Hezekiah was ill."

[e] The feasting of the envoys is an unscriptural detail.

[f] The presents for Baladan are also an unscriptural detail.

[g] Variant (for "on behalf of their master") "from God," possibly correct if there is an allusion to 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

[h] The reason given by Hezekiah is an addition to Scripture.

ἄνδρας εἶναι τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ δουλεύσοντας βασι-
34 λεῖ " ταῦτα γὰρ προλέγειν τὸν θεόν. ὁ δ' Ἐζε-
κίας λυπηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔφη μὲν οὐκ ἂν βούλεσθαι τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς τὸ ἔθνος[1] αὐτοῦ περιπεσεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν τὰ τῷ θεῷ δεδογμένα μεταβαλεῖν, ηὔχετο μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς εἰρήνην ὑπάρξαι μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ τῶν
35 Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως Βαλάδα Βηρωσός[2] ὢν δ'
οὗτος ὁ προφήτης ὁμολογουμένως θεῖος καὶ θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πεποιθὼς τῷ μηδὲν ὅλως ψευδὲς εἰπεῖν ἅπανθ' ὅσα προεφήτευσεν ἐγγράψας βίβλοις κατέλιπεν ἐκ τοῦ τέλους γνωρισθησόμενα τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις. καὶ οὐχ οὗτος μόνος ὁ προφήτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν, καὶ πᾶν εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε[3] φαῦλον γίνεται παρ' ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποβαίνει προφητείαν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν αὖθις ἐξαγγελοῦμεν ἕκαστον
36 (III. 1) Ἐπιβιοὺς δ' ὃν προειρήκαμεν χρόνον ὁ
βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας καὶ πάντα τοῦτον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ τέταρτον

[1] γένος M¹SP· gentem Lat
[2] post Βηρωσός lacunam statuit Niese.
[3] εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε] εἴτε O: εἴ τι R

[a] Bibl "Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken."

[b] Josephus omits the bibl account of Hezekiah's public works, 2 Kings xx 20, as well as other details given in 2 Chron xxxii. 28 ff

[c] The number "twelve" is puzzling, since there were at least 15 other prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the 12 minor prophets) according to Josephus's view The reference, however, may be to the 12 "prophetic" books (exclusive of Isaiah) mentioned in *Ap* i. 40, "The prophets

their manhood, be servants to the king of Babylon." For God, he said, foretold these things. Thereupon Hezekiah, being grieved at his words, said that he would be unwilling to have his nation meet with such misfortunes, but, since it was not possible to alter God's decrees,[a] he prayed that there should be peace during his own lifetime.[b] Now Berosus also mentions Baladas, the king of Babylon. As for the prophet, he was acknowledged to be a man of God and marvellously possessed of truth, and, as he was confident of never having spoken what was false, he wrote down in books all that he had prophesied and left them to be recognized as true from the event by men of future ages. And not alone this prophet, but also others, twelve in number,[c] did the same, and whatever happens to us whether for good or ill comes about in accordance with their prophecies. But of each of these we shall give an account hereafter.[d] 2 Kings xx 17, Isaiah xxxix. 6.

(iii. 1) Now Hezekiah lived on for the length of time we stated above[e] and passed all of it in peace, and died after completing the fifty-fourth[f] year of Hezekiah's death; accession of Manasseh

subsequent to Moses wrote the history of their own times in thirteen books," *cf.* Dr Thackeray's note *ad loc.* It must, of course, be further assumed that Josephus is inexact in saying "of these we shall give an account hereafter," if he is here referring to these "prophetic" books, since he has already dealt with the "prophetic" books, Joshua to Chronicles, included in the 13. But there seems to be no other explanation of the "other 12 prophets."

[d] *Cf.* preceding note. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are mentioned in §§ 79 ff.

[e] § 27.

[f] According to 2 Kings xviii. 2 = 2 Chron. xxix. 1, he was 25 years old at his accession, added to which the 29 years of his reign give 54.

ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς διανύσας, εἴκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ
37 ἐννέα. διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ
Μανασσῆς ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ἐψίβας[1] τοὔνομα πολίτιδος δὲ γεγονώς, ἀπέρρηξεν ἑαυτὸν τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐτράπετο, πᾶν εἶδος πονηρίας ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς παραλιπών, ἀλλὰ μιμούμενος τὰς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν παρανομίας, αἷς[2] εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξαμαρτόντες ἀπώλοντο· μιᾶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐτόλμησε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν
38 ἅπασαν ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καταφρονήσεως
ὁρμώμενος πάντας[3] τοὺς δικαίους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν προφητῶν ἔσχε φειδὼ καὶ τούτων δέ τινας καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὥστε αἵματι ῥεῖσθαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα
39 λαβὼν οὖν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς πέμπει προφή-
τας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἠπείλησε τὰς αὐτὰς συμφοράς, αἷς συνέβη περιπεσεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν Ἰσραηλίτας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξυβρίζοντας. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οὐκ ἐπίστευον, παρ' ὧν ἠδύναντο κερδῆσαι τὸ μηδενὸς πειραθῆναι κακοῦ, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ἔμαθον ἀληθῆ τὰ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

[1] Conj . Αἰχίβας RO: Ἀχίβας (-ᾶς M) MSP Ἔχειβας L· Ἐχιβᾶς V· Echib Lat.
[2] οἱ ROM
[3] πάντας ὠμῶς MSP Exc · καὶ πάντας LV

[a] Gr Manassēs (as in most LXX MSS), Heb. *Mᵉnaššeh*
[b] Conjectured form (*cf* Luc), MSS Aichiba, Achiba, etc ·

his life and reigning for twenty-nine years But, on succeeding to his throne, his son Manasseh,[a] whose mother, a native of that city, was named Epsiba,[b] broke away from his father's practices and took the opposite course, exhibiting every form of wickedness in his conduct and leaving no impious act undone, but imitating the lawless deeds of the Israelites wherein they sinned against God and so perished He even dared to pollute the temple of God as well as the city and the entire country.[c] For, setting out with a contempt of God, he killed[d] all the righteous men among the Hebrews, nor did he spare even the prophets, some of whom he slaughtered daily, so that Jerusalem ran with blood[e] Thereupon God, being wrathful at these things, sent prophets to the king and the people, and through these threatened them with the same calamities which had befallen their Israelite brothers when they outraged Him They were not, however, persuaded by these words, from which they might so have profited as not to experience any misfortune, but had to learn from deeds the truth of what the prophets said

2 Kings xx 21, 2 Chron xxii 33

bibl Hephzibah (*Hephṣî-bāh*), LXX Ὀψειβά (*v.ll* Ἀψειβά, Ὀφσιβά), Luc Ἐψιβά

[c] Josephus omits the bibl details of his practice of magic, passing his son through fire, etc.

[d] The variant adds "cruelly."

[e] Scripture says, 2 Kings xxi 16, that Manasseh shed much innocent blood until he filled Jerusalem from one end to the other, but does not specifically include the prophets. It is probable that Josephus is alluding to a tradition, similar to those found in the apocryphal Martyrdom of Isaiah (*cf* R Charles ed, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. 155 ff) and in rabbinic literature (*cf.* Ginzberg iv. 278 ff) concerning the killing of Isaiah " by sawing him in two " (*cf* Ep. Heb xi. 37) at the order of Manasseh.

40 (2) Ὡς γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπέμενον, πόλεμον ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἐκίνει παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ
Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, ὃς στρατιὰν πέμψας εἰς τὴν
Ἰουδαίαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτησε καὶ τὸν
βασιλέα Μανασσῆν δόλῳ ληφθέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀχθέντα πρὸς ἣν ἠβούλετο τιμωρίαν εἶχεν ὑπο-
41 χείριον. ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς τότε συνεὶς ἐν οἵοις κακοῖς
ἐστι καὶ πάντων αἴτιον ἑαυτὸν νομίζων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ
θεοῦ παρέχειν[1] αὐτῷ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ ἐλεήμονα
τὸν πολέμιον. χαρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο τῆς ἱκεσίας
ἐπακούσας ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν
ὁ Μανασσῆς ἀπολυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
42 βασιλέως ἀνασώζεται. γενόμενος δ' εἰς τὰ Ἱερο-
σόλυμα τῶν μὲν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων περὶ τὸν
θεὸν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐσπούδαζεν, εἰ δυνατὸν αὐτῷ
γένοιτο, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβαλεῖν, ὧν μεταβουλεύειν[2]
ὥρμησε καὶ πάσῃ χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ·
καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἥγνισε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκάθηρε καὶ
πρὸς μόνῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ χάριν τε τῆς σωτηρίας
ἐκτίνειν[3] τῷ θεῷ καὶ διατηρεῖν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ παρ'[4]
43 ὅλον τὸν βίον. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πράττειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
ἐδίδασκε μεμαθηκὼς οἵᾳ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐχρήσατο
συμφορᾷ διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν πολιτείαν. ἐπισκευάσας
δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὰς νομίμους θυσίας ἐπετέλει,
44 καθὼς διέταξε Μωυσῆς. διοικησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ
τὴν θρησκείαν ὃν δεῖ τρόπον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἱερο-
σολύμων ἀσφαλείας προενόησεν, ὥστε τὰ παλαιὰ
τείχη μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπισκευάσας σπουδῆς καὶ ἕτερον

[1] παρασχεῖν MSPLVE Exc

[2] ὧν μεταβουλεύειν ed. pr ὧν ἐπιβουλεύειν codd.. θεῷ δὲ δουλεύειν ex Lat. conj Niese

[3] ἐκτείνειν ROM.

[4] Niese. πρὸς codd in Lat

(2) For, as they persisted in their ways, God stirred up the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea [a] to make war upon them, and, sending an army into Judaea, he ravaged their country and got their king, Manasseh, who had been captured by cunning and brought to him, into his power to punish in whatever way he wished Then at last did Manasseh realize in what a bad plight he was, and, believing himself to be the cause of it all, he prayed to God to make the enemy humane and merciful to him And God hearkened to his supplication and granted this, and so Manasseh was set free by the king of Babylonia and was safely restored to his own land. When he came to Jerusalem, he strove to cast from his mind, if that were possible, the very memory of his former sins, of which he was anxious to repent,[b] and to show God the utmost reverence ; and he sanctified the temple and purified the city, and thereafter his only care was to show his gratitude to God for having been saved, and to keep His favour throughout his whole life And he taught the people to do the same, having learned how close he had been to disaster because of following the opposite way of life He also repaired the altar and offered up the customary sacrifices, as Moses had ordained And, when he had regulated the form of worship in the proper manner, he also provided for the security of Jerusalem, and so repaired the old walls with great care and added a new one to them ; he also

Manasseh is captured by the Babylonians 2 Chron xxxiii. 11.

His repentance and pious deeds 2 Chron xxxiii 13

[a] Bibl. "king of Assyria" Josephus's alteration to "king of Babylonia and Chaldaea" is based on the scriptural statement that the Assyrian king took Manasseh to *Babylon* (Actually it must have been the Assyrian king Esarhaddon.)

[b] Text uncertain.

αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἀναστῆσαί τε καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοτάτους τά τε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις καὶ δὴ καὶ σιτίων καὶ[1] *πάντων τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ*
45 *χρησίμων συγκομιδῇ*[2] *ὀχυρώτερα ποιῆσαι ἀμέλει δὲ τῇ πρὸς ταῦτα μεταβολῇ χρησάμενος οὕτω τὸν μεταξὺ διῆγε βίον, ὡς μακαριστὸς εἶναι καὶ ζηλωτὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λογιζόμενος*[3] *ἀφ' οὗ τὸν*
46 *θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ἤρξατο ζήσας οὖν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα ἑπτὰ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ θάπτεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδείσοις, ἡ βασιλεία δὲ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται Ἀμμῶνα*[4] *μητρὸς Ἐμασέλμης*[5] *μὲν ὄνομα τετυχηκότα ἐκ δὲ πόλεως Ἰαταβάτης*[6] *ὑπαρχούσης*
47 (iv. 1) *Οὗτος μιμησάμενος τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα, ἃ νέος ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἐτόλμησεν, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι, βασιλεύσας*
48 *δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο μετῆλθε δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς*

[1] *καὶ* add Niese
[2] *συγκομιδῇ* add. Niese: *εἰσκομιδῇ* add Cocceji
[3] *λογιζομένου* Niese
[4] *Ἄμωσον* M.
[5] *Ἐμαλσέμης* M *Ἐμασέμης* SP Maselmis Lat
[6] *Ἰαζαβάτης* R *Ἰαβάτης* MSP Iecabath Lat.

[a] The words "by bringing in" are added conjecturally.
[b] Text uncertain, if we adopt Niese's emendation, it would read (after "such a way") "as to be blessed and enviable, counting from the time" etc
[c] According to 2 Kings xxi 1 = 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, he was 12 years old at his accession, added to which the 55 years of his reign give 67.
[d] 2 Kings "and he was buried in the garden of his house, in the garden of Uzzah"; 2 Chron "and they buried him in his house" (LXX "in the garden of his house").

erected very high towers and made the fortresses before the city stronger in various ways, especially by bringing in[a] provisions and all sorts of things needed in them. In fact he underwent such a change of heart in these respects and lived the rest of his life in such a way as to be accounted a blessed and enviable man after the time[b] when he began to show piety toward God. And so he departed this life at the age of sixty-seven years,[c] after reigning fifty-five. And he was buried in his own gardens,[d] and the kingdom passed to his son Ammon,[e] whose mother, named Emaselmē,[f] was a native of the city of Jatabatē.[g]

Manasseh's death; accession of Amon. 2 Kings xxi. 18; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20.

(iv. 1) This king imitated those deeds of his father which he had recklessly committed in his youth, and, after a plot was formed against him by his own servants, was put to death in his house at the age of twenty-four years,[h] of which he had reigned for two. But the people punished his murderers

Murder of Amon. 2 Kings xxi. 20; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 22.

[e] Bibl. Amon (*'Āmôn*), LXX Ἀμώς (*v.l.* Ἀμμών), Luc. (2 Kings) Ἀμών.

[f] Bibl. Meshullemeth, LXX Μεσολλάμ (*v.l.* Μασσαλάμειθ κτλ.), Luc. Μασθαλάμ (*vid.*).

[g] Variants Jazabatē, Jabatē; bibl. Jotbah (*Yāṭᵉbāh*), LXX Ἰεσεβάλ, *v.ll.* Ἰετεβάλ, Ἰετεβά, Luc. Ἐτεβάθα. The site has not been identified, but is commonly assumed to have been in Judaea. I suggest that Heb. *Yāṭᵉbāh* is the original of the name of the Galilaean city Jotapata (*cf.* *B.J.* iii. 158 ff.), and that the Talmudic form of this name, Jodephath, reflects the Greek and not the original Heb. form. This does not necessarily mean that Jotbah here is to be identified with Jotapata, as there may have been two cities by this name. Such duplication of place-names is not infrequent in ancient Palestine.

[h] According to 2 Kings xxi. 19 = 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21, he was 22 years old at his accession, added to which the 2 years of his reign give 24.

φονεῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνθάπτουσι τὸν Ἀμμῶνα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσίᾳ παραδιδοῦσιν ὀκταετεῖ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι, ᾧ μήτηρ ἐκ
49 πόλεως μὲν ἦν Βοσκέθ,[1] Ἰέδις[2] δὲ τοὔνομα. τὴν δὲ φύσιν αὐτὸς ἄριστος ὑπῆρχε καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ γεγονώς, τῶν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ζηλωτὴς[3] ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ σκοπῷ καὶ κανόνι τῆς ὅλης περὶ
50 τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἐκείνῳ κεχρημένος. γενόμενος δὲ ἐτῶν δυοκαίδεκα τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπεδείξατο· τὸν γὰρ λαὸν ἐσωφρόνιζε καὶ παρῄνει τῆς περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων δόξης ὡς οὐχὶ θεῶν ὄντων ἀποστάντας σέβειν τὸν πάτριον θεόν, τά τε τῶν προγόνων ἐπισκοπῶν ἔργα τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτηθέντα διώρθου συνετῶς ὡσανεὶ[4] πρεσβύτατος καὶ νοῆσαι τὸ δέον ἱκανώτατος, ὅσα δ' εὕρισκεν εὖ γεγονότα καὶ[5] κατὰ χώραν ἐφύλαττέ τε καὶ ἐμι-
51 μεῖτο. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε, σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ τῆς φύσεως χρώμενος καὶ τῇ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πειθόμενος[6] συμβουλίᾳ καὶ παραδόσει· τοῖς γὰρ νόμοις κατακολουθῶν, οὕτως[7] περὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς πολιτείας[8] καὶ τῆς[9] περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας εὐοδεῖν τε συνέβαινε καὶ[10] διὰ τὸ[11] τὴν τῶν πρώτων[12] παρανομίαν

[1] Βοσκέθι (-εθί LV) SPLV Lat.
[2] Ἰεδῆς M Ἰεδεὶς SP¹ Ἰεδὶς P² Ἐδεὶς, in marg. Βαβουρῶ Ἰεδδία L Ἐδὶς V.
[3] ζηλωτὴς add. Dindorf: ante Δαυίδου lacunam statuit Niese.
[4] Niese: ὡς ἂν ὁ ROM ὡς ἂν rell.
[5] καὶ om. SP.
[6] καὶ τῇ . . . πειθόμενος om. ROLV.
[7] ὡς ROLV: ὄντως SP: velut Lat.
[8] πόλεως ROLV: civitatis Lat.
[9] τῆς om. RO.
[10] καὶ addidi.
[11] τὸ om. RO.
[12] τούτων SPL¹V: priorum rerum Lat.: τῶν προγόνων conj. Niese.

[a] Gr. Jōsias, Heb. Yôš'iyāhû, LXX Ἰωσείας.

and buried Ammon with his father; then they gave the kingship to his son Josiah,[a] a boy of eight years, whose mother, named Jedis,[b] came from the city of Bosketh.[c] He was of an excellent character and well-disposed to virtue and emulous[d] of the practices of King David, whom he made the pattern and rule of his whole manner of life. Now, when he was twelve years old,[e] he gave proof of his piety and righteousness, for he sought to bring the people to their senses and urged them to give up their belief in idols, which he said were not really gods, and to worship the God of their fathers; and, reviewing the acts of his forefathers, he wisely corrected the errors they had made, just as if he were a very old man and quite competent to see what needed to be done; but whatever practices he found that were good and in place he kept and imitated. These things he did by using his natural wisdom and discernment and being guided by the counsel and traditions of the elders[f]; for it was by following the laws that he succeeded so well in the ordering of his government[g] and in piety toward the Deity, and also because the lawlessness of the former (kings) no

Accession of Josiah 2 Kings xxii. 1, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1.

[b] Bibl. Jedidah (*Yᵉdîdāh*), LXX Ἰεδεία, v.l. Ἰεδδία.

[c] Bibl. Boscath, LXX Βασουρώθ. It is grouped with Lachish and Eglon (*i.e.* near the Philistine border) in Jos. xv. 39, but the exact site has not been identified.

[d] "Emulous" is supplied conjecturally. Niese believes that there is a lacuna in the text after "virtue."

[e] Bibl. (2 Chron.) "In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek the God of David his father, and in the twelfth year (LXX adds "of his reign") he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places" etc. Josephus's "twelve years old" is apparently based on a misunderstanding of this verse.

[f] The variant omits "being guided by the (counsel of) the elders."

[g] Variant "city."

52 *μὴ τυγχάνειν ἀλλ᾽ ἐξηφανίσθαι περιιὼν γὰρ ὁ*
βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν τά
τε ἄλση τὰ τοῖς ξενικοῖς ἀνειμένα θεοῖς ἐξέκοψε καὶ
τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἴ τι δ᾽ ἀνάθημα
τούτοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀνέκειτο περιυβρίζων
53 *κατέσπα. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῆς*
περὶ αὐτοὺς δόξης εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπ-
έστρεψε καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐπέφερε[1] *θυσίας αὐτοῦ τῷ*
βωμῷ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις. ἀπέδειξε δέ τινας
κριτὰς καὶ ἐπισκόπους, ὡς ἂν διοικοῖεν τὰ παρ᾽
ἑκάστοις πράγματα, περὶ παντὸς τὸ δίκαιον ποιού-
μενοι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔλασσον αὐτὸ περιέποντες.
54 *διαπέμψας δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, χρυσὸν καὶ*
ἄργυρον τοὺς βουλομένους ἐκέλευε[2] *κομίζειν εἰς*
ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὅσον τις ἢ προαιρέσεως ἢ
55 *δυνάμεως ἔχει κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, τῆς*
ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο δαπάνης
προέστησε τόν τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμασίαν καὶ τὸν
γραμματέα Σαφᾶν καὶ τὸν γραφέα τῶν ὑπομνη-
56 *μάτων Ἰωάτην καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιακίαν, οἳ*
μηδὲν ὑπερθέσει μηδὲ ἀναβολῇ δόντες, ἀρχιτέκ-
τονας καὶ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν χρήσιμα
παρασκευάσαντες εἴχοντο τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὁ μὲν

[1] *ἐπέφερον* MSP. [2] *ἐκέλευσε* MSP.

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[a] Text slightly uncertain

[b] The sacrifices and offerings are not mentioned in Scripture.

[c] Nothing is said in Scripture about Josiah's appointment of judges Has Josephus here confused him with Jehoshaphat? *Cf Ant* ix 2 ff (=2 Chron. xix. 5 ff.)

longer existed but had been rooted out.[a] Going round the city and the entire country, the king cut down the groves dedicated to foreign gods and razed their altars, and whatever dedicatory-offerings to them had been set up by his forefathers he treated with contempt and pulled down. And in this way he turned the people away from their belief in these gods to the service of God, and he offered up on His altar the customary sacrifices and the whole burnt-offerings.[b] He also appointed certain judges and overseers who, in administering the affairs of individuals, were to put justice above everything else and treat it no less carefully than their own lives.[c] Then he sent throughout the entire country, bidding those who wished to bring gold and silver for the repair of the temple to do so, each according to his inclination or ability. When the money was brought, he gave the superintendence of the temple and the expenses connected with it in charge to Amasias,[d] the governor of the city, Sapha,[e] the scribe, and Jōatēs,[f] the keeper of the records, and the high priest Eliakias,[g] who, without allowing any postponement or delay,[h] took hold of the work by providing master-builders and all things necessary for the repairing. And so the temple, having been

Josiah's pious deeds 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3

[d] So Luc. (vid.), bibl. Maaseiah (*Ma'asêyāhû*), LXX Μαασά, *v. ll.* Μαασίας.

[e] Bibl. Shaphan, LXX 2 Kings Σαφφάν (*v. ll.* Σεφφάν, Σαπφάν), Luc. 2 Kings and LXX 2 Chron. Σαφάν.

[f] Bibl. Joah (*Yô'āḥ*), LXX Ἰουάχ, *v.l.* Ἰωάς.

[g] Bibl. Hilkiah (*Ḥilqîyāhû*), LXX Χελκείας.

[h] The phrase μηδὲ ἀναβολῇ δόντες "without allowing any delay" is reminiscent of Thucydides vii. 15 and, with variations, appears several times in *Ant.* xvii.-xix.; *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's preface to Vol. IV, pp. xiv ff.

ναὸς οὕτως ἐπισκευασθεὶς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν φανερὰν ἐποίησεν

57 (2) Ὄγδοον δ' ἤδη καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἔχων πέμπει πρὸς Ἐλιακίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, κελεύων τὸ περισσὸν τῶν χρημάτων χωνεύσαντα ποιῆσαι κρατῆρας καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ φιάλας εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσος ἂν ᾖ χρυσὸς ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς καὶ[1] ἄργυρος καὶ τοῦτον προκομίσαντα[2] εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκεύη

58 δαπανῆσαι. προκομίζων δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλιακίας ἐντυγχάνει ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ταῖς Μωυσέος ἐν τῷ ναῷ κειμέναις καὶ προκομίσας δίδωσι τῷ γραμματεῖ Σαφᾷ. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα ὅσα κελεύσειε γενέσθαι τέλος ἔχοντα ἐδήλου, παρανέγνω δ' αὐτῷ

59 καὶ τὰς βίβλους[3] ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καλέσας Ἐλιακίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων φίλων τινὰς ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν προφῆτιν Ὀολδά,[4] γυναῖκα δὲ Σαλλούμου[5] τῶν ἐν δόξῃ τινὸς καὶ δι'

[1] ἢ MSPLV.
[2] Bekker προσκομίσαντας vel προσκομίσαντες codd
[3] βίβλους Hudson βίβλους αὐτῶν codd
[4] Ὀλδᾶ O: Ὀλδὰν LVE Zonaras· Oldam Lat
[5] Σαλλάμου R· Σελούμου LVE Salomi Lat

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[a] Variant " or."
[b] Or " use it," *cf* following note.
[c] This reference to the purchase (or fashioning) of temple vessels may be based on a misunderstanding of 2 Kings xxii. 9 where the LXX reads " they smelted (the Heb. may mean " they poured out " ; A.V. " they have gathered together," and so Targum) the silver found in the temple."

repaired in this fashion, made clear the piety of the king.

(2) Now he had already been reigning eighteen years when he sent to the high priest Eliakias, telling him to melt what was left over of the money and with it make mixing-bowls and libation-cups and bowls for the temple service, and, in addition, bring out whatever gold and[a] silver might be in the treasuries and spend it[b] similarly for mixing-bowls and such vessels.[c] But, in bringing out the gold, the high priest Eliakias came upon the sacred books[d] of Moses, which had been placed in the temple, and he brought them out and gave them to Sapha, the scribe. And, when he had read them, he came to the king and informed him that everything which he had ordered to be done had been brought to completion. Then he also read the books aloud to him. When the king had heard them read, he rent his garments and, calling the high priest Eliakias, sent him and the scribe himself[e] and some of his closest friends to the prophetess Oolda,[f] the wife of Sallūmos,[g] a man of high repute and illustrious

Hilkiah (Eliakias) discovers a book of Moses' laws in the temple. 2 Kings xxii. 3, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8

Josiah consults the prophetess Huldah (Oolda). 2 Kings xxii. 11, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 19

Scripture says explicitly, however, that the money (or silver) was used for buying stone and timber.

[d] Scripture throughout this chapter speaks of "a book" of the law of Moses (or "of the Lord"), not of "books." Josephus evidently understands Scripture to mean the entire Pentateuch. Most modern scholars, however, assume that the book of Deuteronomy is here meant, and that in substantially its present form it was written not long before the reign of Josiah, as the religious reforms prescribed in Deuteronomy seem to have been accepted by Josiah as a program of action.

[e] *i.e.* Shaphan; Scripture also mentions Shaphan's son Ahikam, as well as two others.

[f] Bibl. Huldah (*Ḥuldāh*), LXX Ὄλδα.

[g] Bibl. Shallum, LXX Σελλήμ.

εὐγένειαν ἐπιφανοῦς,[1] καὶ προσελθόντας ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ποιεῖν εὐμενῆ· δέος γὰρ εἶναι, μὴ παραβάντων τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν[2] κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀνάστατοι γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντες ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας ἔρημοι πάντων καταστρέψωσιν οἰκτρῶς
60 τὸν βίον. ἀκούσασα δ' ἡ προφῆτις παρὰ τῶν πεμφθέντων ταῦτα αὐτῶν δι' ὧν[3] ἐπέστειλεν[4] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθόντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ὅτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἤδη κατ' αὐτῶν ψῆφον ἤνεγκεν, ἣν οὐχ ἱκεσίαις ἄν τις ἄκυρον ποιήσειεν, ἀπολέσαι τὸν λαὸν καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀφελέσθαι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν, παραβάντας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοσούτῳ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ μὴ μετανοήσαντας, τῶν τε[5] προφητῶν τοῦτο παραινούντων σωφρονεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ
61 τοῖς ἀσεβήμασι τιμωρίαν προλεγόντων· ἥν, ἵνα πεισθῶσιν ὅτι θεός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐψεύδετο τούτων ὧν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κατήγγειλε, πάντως αὐτοῖς ποιήσειν·[6] δι' αὐτὸν μέντοι δίκαιον γενόμενον ἐφέξειν ἔτι τὰς συμφοράς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τὰ κατεψηφισμένα πάθη τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιπέμψειν.

62 (3) Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς προφητευσάσης ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὁ δὲ περιπέμψας

[1] ἐπιφανῶν LVE. [2] αὐτοὶ conj. Niese.
[3] αὐτῶν δι' ὧν M corr.: δι' αὐτῶν ὧν codd.
[4] ἀπέστειλεν SPL. [5] γε Bekker.
[6] ἐποίσειν Naber.

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[a] Scripture says merely that he was "keeper of the wardrobe."

family,[a] commanding them to go to her and tell her to appease God and attempt to win His favour, for, he said, there was reason to fear that, since their forefathers had transgressed against the laws of Moses, they themselves might be in danger of being driven away, and, after being cast out of their own country into a foreign land where they would be destitute of all things, might there miserably end their lives.[b] When the prophetess heard these things from the men through whom the king had sent the message,[c] she told them to go back to the king and say that the Deity had already given His sentence against them and that no one could make it ineffective even by supplications; this sentence was to destroy the people and drive them out of their country and deprive them of all the good things which they now had, because they had transgressed against the laws and during so long an interval of time had not repented, although the prophets exhorted them to act thus wisely and foretold the punishment for their impious deeds, which, she said, He would certainly inflict on them in order that they might believe that He was God and was not speaking falsely about any of the things which He had announced to them through the prophets. However, she said, for the sake of Josiah, who was a righteous man, He would put off these calamities for a time, but after his death would send down on the multitude the sufferings He had decreed against them.[d]

(3) And so, after the woman had prophesied, they came and reported her words to the king. There- The public reading of the book of

[b] The reference to Josiah's fear of exile is an addition to Scripture.
[c] Text uncertain.
[d] Josephus amplifies the scriptural text of Huldah's reply.

πανταχοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἐκέλευε[1] συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τούς θ'[2] ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ληουίτας, πᾶσαν[3]
63 ἡλικίαν προστάξας παρεῖναι. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει ὅρκους ποιήσασθαι καὶ πίστεις ἠνάγκασεν ἦ μὴν θρησκεύσειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ φυλάξειν[4] τοὺς Μωυσέος
64 νόμους οἱ δὲ προθύμως τ' ἐπῄνεσαν καὶ τὰ παραινεθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιήσειν ὑπέστησαν, θύοντές τε παραχρῆμα καὶ καλλιεροῦντες ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον εὐμενῆ καὶ ἵλεων αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν
65 τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα προσέταξεν εἴ τι περισσὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων σκεῦος τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ ξενικοῖς θεοῖς κατασταθὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, τοῦτο ἐκβαλεῖν. συναθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν καταπρήσας αὐτὰ τὴν σποδὸν αὐτῶν διέσπειρε καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων οὐκ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος γένους ἀπέκτεινε.

66 (4) Ταῦτα δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπραξάμενος ἧκεν εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κατασκευασθέντα ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Ἱεροβοάμου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ξενικῶν θεῶν ἠφάνισε καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, ὃν κατεσκεύασε
67 πρῶτος Ἱεροβόαμος, κατέκαυσε[5] ταῦτα δὲ προφήτην κατελθόντα πρὸς Ἱεροβόαμον, θυσιάζοντος

[1] ἐκέλευσε MSPLVE.
[2] θ' ex Lat. add. Niese.
[3] πᾶσάν τε MSP Lat
[4] θρησκεύσειν . . . φυλάξειν Niese θρησκεῦσαι . . . φυλάξαι codd. E.
[5] κατέσκαψε M: πυρὶ παραδέδωκε RO

upon he sent round to all parts, commanding the people to gather in Jerusalem, as also the priests and Levites, and ordering those of every age to be present. When these had been assembled, he first read them the sacred books and then, standing on the tribune[a] in the midst of the people, he compelled them to take an oath and pledge that they would truly worship God and keep the laws of Moses. And they eagerly assented and undertook to do what the king urged upon them, and straightway sacrificed and, while singing the sacred hymns,[b] supplicated God to be favourable and gracious to them. Then he ordered the high priest to cast out any vessels that were left of those that had been set up in the temple by their forefathers to the idols and strange gods. And, when many of these had been collected, he burnt them and scattered their ashes; he also killed the priests of the idols, who were not of the family of Aaron.[c]

Moses' laws 2 Kings xxiii. 1, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29

(4) When he had carried out these reforms in Jerusalem, he went into the country and utterly destroyed everything that had been built there by King Jeroboam in honour of the foreign gods, and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the altar which Jeroboam had been the first to build. Now a prophet had come to Jeroboam and foretold,

Josiah burns the bones of the false prophets 2 Kings xxiii. 15

[a] Bibl. "by (Heb. *'al* can mean either "by" or "on") a pillar."

[b] The exact meaning of καλλιεροῦντες (usually = "sacrifice auspiciously") is uncertain here, *cf.* *Ant.* ix. 268 note.

[c] Bibl. (2 Kings) "he made an end of (A.V. "put down"; LXX κατέκαυσε "burned"—a corruption of κατέπαυσε "made an end of") the idolatrous priests." Josephus in the foregoing account of Josiah's reforms omits many of the details given in 2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.

αὐτοῦ καὶ παντὸς ἀκούοντος τοῦ λαοῦ, προκαταγ-
γεῖλαι γενησόμενα,[1] ὅτι τις ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους
Ἰωσίας τοὔνομα ποιήσει τὰ προειρημένα[2] συνέβη
δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ
ἑξηκονταέν.
68 (5) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας πορευθεὶς
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ὅσοι τὴν
αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυ-
ρίων διέφυγον, ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις καὶ
τὰς τιμὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους θεοὺς ἐγκατα-
λιπεῖν ἔπεισε, τὸν δὲ πάτριον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν
69 εὐσεβεῖν καὶ τούτῳ προσανέχειν τὰς οἰκίας τε καὶ
τὰς κώμας ἠρεύνησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις, μή τις ἔνδον
ἔχοι τι τῶν εἰδώλων ὑπονοῶν οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰ τοῖς βασιλευομένοις ἐφεστῶτα ἅρματα, ἃ κατ-
εσκεύασαν οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἦν ᾧ
70 προσεκύνουν ὡς θεῷ ἐβάστασε· καὶ καθαρίσας οὕτω
τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν λαὸν συν-

[1] γενησόμενα Coccejı· τὰ γενησόμενα codd.
[2] post προειρημένα deesse verba ἐν τοῖς ἄνω δεδηλώκαμεν aut sim. conj. Coccejı

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[a] *Ant* viii 231 ff (1 Kings xiii 1 ff)
[b] The actual period of time, according to modern reckoning, is nearer 300 years Josephus's figure, moreover, is not consistent with the chronology given earlier According to *Ant.* ix. 280, the kingdom of Israel, from the accession of Jeroboam until its end in the 7th year of Hezekiah (*Ant* ix. 277), lasted 240 years (+7 months, 7 days) Josephus reckons 22 years more to Hezekiah's reign (*Ant.* x. 36), 55 to Manasseh's (*Ant.* x 46), 2 to Amon's (*Ant.* x 47), and 18 to Josiah's up to the discovery of the Mosaic law (*Ant.* x. 57). Thus we get 97 added to 240, which equals

as he was sacrificing and in the hearing of all the people, that these things would come to pass, namely that someone of the line of David, named Josiah, would do the things described above[a] And as it happened, these prophecies were fulfilled after three hundred and sixty-one years[b]

(5) After these events King Josiah went also to the other Israelites, those who had escaped from captivity and servitude under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to give up their impious practices and abandon their worship of foreign gods and, instead, to show piety toward the Almighty God of their fathers and remain faithful to Him He also searched the houses and villages and cities, suspecting that someone might have some idolatrous object within.[c] Furthermore he removed the chariots placed for the king's officers,[d] which his forefathers had built, and many other such things which they worshipped as gods , and having thus purified the entire country, he called the people together at Jerusalem

Josiah reforms the Israelites *Cf.* 2 Chron xxxiv 6

2 Kings xxiii 11

337 years for the interval between the beginning of Jeroboam's reign and the fulfilment of the prophesy about the altar

[c] The foregoing is an amplification of Scripture, which says merely that he cleansed the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim and Simeon with their surroundings and cut down all the idols in Israel. But the house-to-house search for idols is mentioned also in rabbinic tradition, *cf.* Ginzberg iv 282.

[d] Lit "for those ruled over" , the translation of *βασιλευομένοις* given in the text is based on the supposition that Josephus is carelessly paraphrasing 2 Kings xxiii. 11 which reads, "And he made an end of (LXX "burned") the horses which the kings of Judah placed for the sun at the entrance of the house of the Lord near the chamber of Nathan-melech the eunuch (A V. "chamberlain")." It is unnecessary to suppose, with Weill, that *βασιλευομένοις* is a corruption of *βασιλείοις* "palace."

ἐκάλεσε κἀκεῖ τὴν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν[1] πάσχα λεγομένην ἤγαγεν· ἐδωρήσατό τε τῷ λαῷ εἰς τὸ πάσχα[2] νεογνοὺς ἐρίφους καὶ ἄρνας τρισμυρίους,[3]
71 βοῦς δ' εἰς ὁλοκαυτώματα[4] τρισχιλίους. παρεῖχον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων[5] οἱ πρῶτοι διὰ τὸ πάσχα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄρνας δισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους, καὶ τοῖς Ληουίταις πεντακισχιλίους ἄρνας ἔδοσαν οἱ προ-
72 εστῶτες αὐτῶν, βοῦς δὲ πεντακοσίους. καὶ γενομένης οὕτως ἀφθόνου τῆς τῶν ἱερείων εὐπορίας τὰς θυσίας ἐπετέλουν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, ἑκάστῳ[6] τῶν ἱερέων ἐξηγουμένων καὶ διακονουμένων τοῖς ὄχλοις, καὶ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἄλλην οὕτως ἀχθῆναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χρόνων αἴτιον ἦν τὸ πάντα κατὰ νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν παρατήρησιν τῆς πατρίου συνηθείας
73 ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. ζήσας δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰωσίας ἔτι δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοξίᾳ κατέστρεψε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν βίον.
74 (v 1) Νεχαὼ[7] ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐγείρας

[1] καὶ τὴν] καὶ LVE Lat τὴν καὶ Dindorf fort. recte
[2] εἰς τὸ πάσχα ex LXX conj Hudson τὸ πάσχα codd, secl Dindorf
[3] δισμυρίους RO
[4] ὁλοκαύτωσιν SP
[5] Ἰουδαίων ex Lat conj Hudson· Ἑβραίων Naber
[6] ἑκάστου MSPV Lat
[7] Νεχαῦς O (et R infra) Νεχαοὺς M· Νεχαὼς LV Νεχαὸς E.

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[a] Or possibly (reading τὴν καὶ) "also called," *cf Ant.* xx. 106 where the two festivals are identified On the other hand, in *Ant* iii. 249 Josephus more accurately distinguishes between the Festival of Unleavened Bread and the Passover which immediately precedes it Both festivals are mentioned in 2 Chron. = 1 Esdras, while the Passover alone is mentioned

and there celebrated the festival of Unleavened Bread and that called[a] Passover (*Pascha*). He also presented gifts to the people for the Passover (consisting of) thirty[b] thousand young kids and lambs, and three thousand oxen for the whole burnt-offerings. And the chief priests[c] as well furnished to the (other) priests for the Passover two thousand six hundred lambs,[d] and to the Levites their leaders gave five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen. And so, there being such an abundance of victims, they performed the sacrifices in accordance with the laws of Moses, the priests directing each step[e] and ministering to the multitude. No other festival had been celebrated by the Hebrews in such a manner since the time of the prophet Samuel, which was due to the fact that everything was carried out in accordance with the laws and with the observance of their fathers' ancient customs. Now Josiah after this lived in peace and, moreover, enjoyed wealth and the good opinion of all men, but ended his life in the following manner.

His celebration of Passover. 2 Kings xxiii. 21, 2 Chron. xxxv. 1, 1 Esdras i. 1.

(v. 1) Nechaō,[f] the king of Egypt, having raised

in 2 Kings. The details of the sacrifice in Josephus are based on the account in 2 Chron. = 1 Esdras.

[b] Variant 20.

[c] *Cf.* 2 Chron. xxxv. 8 = 1 Esdras i. 8 which speaks of the victims given to the people and the priest's by Josiah's "princes," including Hilkiah and other priests in charge of the temple. It is therefore unnecessary to emend "chief priests" (lit. "first of the priests") in Josephus's text to "chief Jews" or "chief Hebrews," as Hudson and Naber propose.

[d] Scripture adds "and 300 oxen."

[e] Or "expounding to everyone", variant "each of the priests expounding" etc. This detail seems to be based on the Luc. reading (κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν) in 1 Esdras i. 10.

[f] So LXX, variants Nechaūs, Nechaōs, etc.; bibl. Necho.

στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤλασε ποταμόν, Μήδους
πολεμήσων καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἳ τὴν Ἀσσυ-
ρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν· τῆς γὰρ Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσαι
75 πόθον εἶχε. γενομένου δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ Μένδην[1]
πόλιν (ἦν δ' αὕτη τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας), μετὰ
δυνάμεως εἶργεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ποιεῖσθαι
χώρας τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἔλασιν πέμψας δὲ
κήρυκα πρὸς αὐτὸν Νεχαὼ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρα-
τεύειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡρμηκέναι
μὴ παροξύνειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν, ὥστε πολεμεῖν
76 αὐτῷ κωλύοντι βαδίζειν ἐφ' οὗ διέγνωκεν. Ἰωσίας
δὲ οὐ προσίετο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Νεχαῶνος, ἀλλ' οὕτως
εἶχεν ὡς μὴ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν δι-
έρχεσθαι, τῆς πεπρωμένης,[2] οἶμαι, εἰς τοῦτ' αὐτὸν
παρορμησάσης, ἵνα λάβῃ πρόφασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ.
77 διατάσσοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐφ' ἅρ-
ματος ἀπὸ κέρως ἐπὶ κέρας ὀχουμένου τοξεύσας τις
αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔπαυσε τῆς πρὸς τὴν μάχην
σπουδῆς· τῷ τραύματι γὰρ περιαλγὴς ὢν ἐκέλευ-
σεν ἀνακληθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς
τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. τελευτᾷ δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐκεῖ[3]

[1] Μήδην O Medin Lat [2] + ἀλαζονείας ROM.
[3] ἐκείνης SPLV Lat

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[a] Bibl. (Heb 2 Chron. and LXX 1 Esdras) "against Carchemish on the Euphrates"; *cf* § 84 note *b*

[b] Bibl. (2 Kings and LXX 2 Chron.) "the king of Assyria." Josephus's correction is in accord with historical fact, since the Medes and Babylonians together had practically destroyed the Assyrian power a few years before Necho's invasion of Syria (608 B.C.). On this occasion, moreover, the Egyptians were probably aided by the remnants of the Assyrian army, *cf* A Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p 639

[c] Bibl. Megiddo, LXX Μαγεδώ (*v.ll.* Μαγεδδώ, Μαγεδών).

an army, marched toward the Euphrates [a] river to make war on the Medes and Babylonians [b] who had overthrown the Assyrian empire, for he had the desire to rule Asia. When he came to the city of Mendē [c]—this was in Josiah's kingdom [c]—the latter came with an army to prevent him from marching against the Medes through his country. So Nechaō sent a herald to him, saying that he was not taking the field against him, but was making for the Euphrates; and he bade Josiah not provoke him into making war on him by preventing him from going where he had made up his mind to go. Josiah, however, paid no attention to Nechaō's request, but acted as though he would not permit him to traverse his territory; it was Destiny,[d] I believe, that urged him on to this course, in order to have a pretext for destroying him. For, as he was marshalling his force and riding in his chariot from one wing to another,[e] an Egyptian archer shot him and put an end to his eagerness for battle, and, being in great pain from his wound, he ordered the call to be sounded for the army's retreat,[e] and he returned to Jerusalem. There he died from his wound.[f]

Josiah's death in battle with Necho, king of Egypt. 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; 1 Esdras i. 25 (LXX 23)

Josephus's form Mendē is puzzling. The only city by this name (a Greek form) was in Egypt, as Josephus himself knew (*cf. B.J.* iv. 659), and it is, moreover, difficult to believe that he could have been mistaken about the reading of Megiddo—a well-known name—in his bibl. text. Herodotus (ii. 159) speaks of a victory of Necho over the Syrians in Magdolos (*cf.* Migdal, an Egyptian border-city mentioned in Jer. xliv. 1 and xlvi. 14), but it is hardly likely that Josephus confused this with Mendē. We must, it seems, assume that Mendē is a scribal corruption of Megiddo.

[d] The variant, "fated boastfulness," hardly makes sense.

[e] Unscriptural details.

[f] Variant "and he died from that wound."

τὸν βίον καὶ κηδεύεται ἐν ταῖς πατρῴαις θήκαις μεγαλοπρεπῶς, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τριακονταεννέα,
78 βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων ἓν καὶ τριάκοντα. πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἤχθη, πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὀδυρομένου καὶ κατηφοῦντος. Ἱερεμίας δ' ὁ προφήτης ἐπικήδειον αὐτοῦ συνέταξε μέλος
79 θρηνητικόν,[1] ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν διαμένει. οὗτος ὁ προφήτης καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει δεινὰ προεκήρυξεν, ἐν γράμμασι καταλιπὼν καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένην ἅλωσιν τήν τε Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν. οὐ μόνον δὲ οὗτος προεθέσπισε ταῦτα τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος, ὃς πρῶτος περὶ
80 τούτων δύο βίβλους[2] γράψας κατέλιπεν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ δύο τῷ γένει ἱερεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἱερεμίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διῆγεν ἀπὸ τρισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωσίου βασιλείας ἕως οὗ κατεσκάφη ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναός. τὰ μέντοι γε συμβάντα περὶ τοῦτον τὸν προφήτην κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

81 (2) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰωσίου, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται

[1] θρηνητικόν secl. Niese, Naber.
[2] βιβλία MSPLVE Zonaras.

[a] According to 2 Kings xxii. 1 = 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1 he was 8 years old at his accession, added to which the 31 years of his reign give 39.

[b] This statement is based on 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day . . . and behold, they are written in the lamentations." Josephus, like the rabbis (*cf.* Ginzberg vi. 378), regarded this verse as a reference to the book of Lamentations, traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah.

[c] This reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus is suspected by Ussani (cited by R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, p. 609) of being an interpolation. This suspicion, however,

and was buried magnificently in the tombs of his fathers, having lived thirty-nine years,[a] of which he reigned thirty-one. Great was the mourning for him observed by all the people, who bewailed him and grieved for many days. And the prophet Jeremiah composed a song of lament for his funeral, which remains to this day.[b] This prophet also announced the misfortunes that were to come upon the city, and left behind writings concerning the recent capture of our city,[c] as well as the capture of Babylon. And not only this prophet predicted these things to the multitude, but also the prophet Ezekiel,[d] who left behind two books which he was the first to write about these matters.[e] These two men were both priests by birth, but Jeremiah lived in Jerusalem from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign[f] until the city and the temple were demolished. What happened to this prophet, however, we shall relate in the proper place.[g]

The prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel

(2) When Josiah died, as we have already said, his son, Jōachazos[h] by name, succeeded to the king-

Accession of Jehoahaz (Joachazos)

is hardly justified. Josephus naturally thought of the book of Lamentations (which, like his contemporaries, he regarded as Jeremiah's work) as a prophecy of the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans as well as of that by the Babylonians.

[d] Gr. Jezekiēlos, Heb. *Y^{e}ḥezqēl*.

[e] Josephus probably thought of the book of Ezekiel as composed of two distinct parts of 24 chapters each. *Cf.* H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, p. 37, "This distinction of subject matter is well known to the rabbis who observed that Ezekiel opens with desolation and ends with consolation." Less probably he alludes to a pseudepigraphic book of Ezekiel, now lost, *cf.* Fabricius, *Codex Pseudep. Vet. Test.*, 1713, i. 1117 f.

[f] Jer. i. 2.

[g] §§ 112, 116 ff.

[h] Variants Jōazos, Jōchazos; bibl. Jehoahaz (*Y^{e}hô'āhāz*), LXX Ἰωαχάς, *v. l.* Ἰωαχάζ.

Ἰωάχαζος[1] τοὔνομα τρίτον[2] καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἤδη ἔτος
γεγονώς. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐβασί-
λευσε μητρὸς Ἀμιτάλης ἐκ[3] πόλεως Λοβάνης[4]
82 ἀσεβὴς δὲ καὶ μιαρὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ δὲ τῶι
Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης
μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἰωάχαζον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀμαθὸ
καλουμένην πόλιν, ἥτις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ τὸι
μὲν ἐλθόντα ἔδησε, τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ αὐτοί
ἀδελφῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ ὄντι Ἐλιακείμῳ[5] τοὔνομα τὴι
βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι μετονομάσας αὐτὸν Ἰωά
κειμον[6]· τῇ δὲ χώρᾳ ἐπέταξεν ἑκατὸν ἀργυρίοι
83 τάλαντα, ἓν δὲ χρυσίου καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐτέλει ὁ
Ἰωάκειμος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων, τὸν δὲ
Ἰωάχαζον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὃς καὶ ἐτελεύ-
τησεν ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύσας μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας
δέκα ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἰωακείμου μήτηρ ἐκαλεῖτο Ζα-
βουδᾶ, ἐκ πόλεως δ' ἦν Ἀβουμᾶς ἐτύγχανε δ
ὢν τὴν φύσιν ἄδικος καὶ κακοῦργος καὶ μήτε πρὸς
θεὸν ὅσιος μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικής.
84 (vi 1) Ἔτος δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τέταρτοι

[1] Ἰώαζος RO· Ἰώχαζος SP.
[2] περὶ τρίτον MSP fort. recte.
[3] ἐκ ex Lat Niese· καὶ codd
[4] Hudson· Τομάνης RO· Τωμιάνης SP Τωμάνης LV Thobana Lat (καὶ Τομάνης om M)
[5] Ἐλιακίμῳ R²OMSP Eliachim Lat.
[6] Ἰωάκιμον RMSPV: Ioachim Lat.

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[a] *Cf* LXX (most MSS.) Ἀμιτάλ (Cod. B 2 Kings Ἀμειταί 2 Chron. Ἀβειτάλ), bibl Hamutal (*Ḥamûṭāl*)

[b] Emended form, MSS Tomanē, Tomianē; bibl Libnah LXX Λοβενά, *v.ll.* Λημνά, Λοβνά, κτλ The name appears as Labinah in *Ant.* ix. 98, *cf* note *ad loc.*

[c] Bibl Riblah in the land of Hamath. On Riblah *cf* § 135 note *c*, on Hamath *cf* *Ant.* vii 107 note *e*.

2 Kings xxiii 31, 2 Chron. xxxvi 1, 1 Esdras i 34 (LXX 32).

dom in his twenty-third year. And so he reigned in Jerusalem, his mother being Amitalē[a] of the city of Lobanē[b]; he was of an impious and corrupt nature. Now the king of Egypt, returning from the battle, summoned Jōachazos to him at the city called Amatha,[c] which is in Syria, and, when he came, put him in chains and gave the kingdom over to his elder brother by the same father, after changing his name, which was Eliakeimos,[d] to Jōakeimos.[e] He also imposed on the country a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.[f] And this sum of money Jōakeimos paid. As for Jōachazos, he carried him off to Egypt, which was where he died after reigning three months and ten days.[g] Now the mother of Jōakeimos was called Zabūda,[h] and she came from the city of Abūma.[i] He proved to be unjust and wicked by nature, and was neither reverent toward God nor kind to man.

Necho makes Jehoiakim (Joakeimos) king.

2 Kings xxiii 33, 2 Chron. xxxvi 3, 1 Esdras i 35.

(vi. 1) In the fourth year of his reign someone[j]

[d] Cf. LXX Ἐλιακείμ, bibl. Eliakim (ʾĒlyāqîm).

[e] Cf. LXX Ἰωακείμ, bibl. Jehoiakim (Yehôyāqîm).

[f] So Heb.; LXX 2 Kings 100 talents of silver and 100 talents of gold, Luc. 2 Kings and 1 Esdras 100 talents of silver and 10 talents of gold.

[g] Bibl. 3 months. Weill plausibly suggests that Josephus has here confused Jehoahaz with Jehoiachin who reigned 3 months and 10 days, according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, cf. § 98.

[h] Bibl. Zebudah (Zebuddāh), LXX Ἰελλά, v.l. Ἰελδάφ, Luc. Ἀμιτάλ (vid.).

[i] Bibl. Rumah, LXX Ῥουμά, Luc. Λοβεννά. The Luc. readings here show confusion of Jehoiakim's mother with that of Jehoahaz.

[j] Josephus appears to use τις "someone" as a tacit apology to Greek readers for the uncouth form of the Babylonian king's name.

ἤδη ἔχοντος τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει τις Ναβουχοδονόσορος[1] ὄνομα, ὃς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ Καρχαμισσὰν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν, ἔστι δ' αὕτη πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ,[2] διεγνωκὼς πολεμεῖν τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Νεχαῶνι· ὑπὸ τούτῳ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ Συρία.
85 μαθὼν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείαν ὁ Νεχαὼ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ τὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορον
86 ἀμυνούμενος[3] ὥρμησεν[4] ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. συμβολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἡττήθη καὶ πολλὰς ἀπέβαλε μυριάδας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Βαβυλώνιος τὴν ἄχρι Πηλουσίου παραλαμβάνει
87 Συρίαν πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. τέσσαρα δ' ἔτη βασιλεύοντος ἤδη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου ὄγδοον ἦν τῷ Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοντι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ στρατεύει μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, φόρους αἰτῶν τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ἢ πολεμήσειν ἀπειλῶν. ὁ δὲ δείσας τὴν ἀπειλὴν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ φόρους οὓς ἔταξεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία.

[1] Ναβοκοδρόσορος Niese [2] ποταμῷ om MSPLV
[3] Coccejι: ἀμυνόμενος codd [4] ἐξώρμησεν SPLV.

[a] Gr Nabūchodonosoros, cf LXX Ναβουχοδονοσόρ, Heb 2 Kings *Nebûkadnessar*, Jer *Nebûkadressar*

[b] Bibl Carchemish, LXX Καρχαμείς, v l Χαρμείς It was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the modern *Jerablus* on the upper Euphrates, c 60 miles N W of Aleppo (modern *Haleb*) in North Syria

[c] Josephus omits the detailed and poetic account of Necho's defeat in Jer xlvi.

[d] Bibl (2 Kings) "For the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that belonged to the king of Egypt."

Nebuchadnezzar defeats Necho and imposes tribute on Jehoiakim 2 Kings xxiv. 1, Jer xlvi 2 (LXX xxvi 2)

called Nebuchadnezzar[a] became ruler of the Babylonians and at the same time went up with a great armament against the city of Karchamissa[b]—this is on the Euphrates river—with the determination to make war on the Egyptian king Nechaō, to whom all Syria was subject When Nechaō learned of the Babylonian king's purpose and of the expedition against him, he himself did not show indifference but set out for the Euphrates with a large force to oppose Nebuchadnezzar In the engagement that took place he was defeated and lost many myriads in the battle[c] Then the Babylonian king crossed the Euphrates and occupied all Syria, with the exception of Judaea, as far as Pelusium[d] In the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, which was the eighth year of Jōakeimos's rule over the Hebrews,[e] the Babylonian king marched against the Jews with a large force, demanding tribute of Jōakeimos under threat of war And so he, being alarmed at this threat, purchased peace by paying the money, and for three years brought him the tribute which he had imposed[f]

[e] According to 2 Kings xxiv 1, Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar after being subject to him for 3 years Scripture implies that the rebellion took place at the end of Jehoiakim's 11 year reign and, therefore, that he had become subject to Nebuchadnezzar in the 8th (or 9th) year of his reign. However in § 84 Josephus has equated Nebuchadnezzar's 1st year with Jehoiakim's 4th Therefore the 4th year of Nebuchadnezzar would be the 7th rather than the 8th of Jehoiakim. Moreover, according to Jer. xxvi 1 ff, which Josephus follows below, Jehoiakim's defiance of the Babylonians seems to have come at the beginning of his reign

[f] Scripture does not mention the payment of tribute specifically but implies it in the phrase "became his servant"

88 (2) Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ στρατεύειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
ἀκούσας ἐπὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ
μὴ δοὺς διεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι
89 ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν. ταῦτα
δὲ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρού-
λεγεν, ὡς μάτην ταῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐλπίσι
προσανέχουσι, καὶ ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν[1] ὑπὸ τοῦ
Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, καὶ
Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα[2] χειρωθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
90 ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰς[3] οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, οὐκ ὄντων τῶν
σωθησομένων,[4] ἐλέγετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ
ἄρχοντες ἀκούοντες παρημέλουν, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν
λαμβάνοντες τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς οἰωνιζομένου κατὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Ἱερεμίαν ᾐτιῶντο,
καὶ ὑπάγοντες δίκῃ καταψηφισθῆναι πρὸς τιμωρίαν
91 ἠξίουν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἤνεγκαν τὰς
ψήφους κατ' αὐτοῦ οἳ καὶ[5] ἀπέγνωσαν τῶν πρεσβυ-
τέρων, οἱ δὲ σοφῆς ὄντες διανοίας ἀπέλυσαν τὸν
προφήτην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβού-
92 λευσαν μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακὸν τὸν Ἱερεμίαν. ἔλεγον
γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοῦτον προλέγειν τῇ πόλει τὰ μέλ-
λοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαίαν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα κατ-
ηγγελκέναι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ

[1] δεῖ . . . πόλιν] πέπρωται τῇ πόλει LVE.
[2] Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα V: Ἰωακείμῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ rell.
[3] εἰς om. RO.
[4] συνθησομένων O: θησομένων M[1].
[5] οἳ καὶ RO: οἱ δ' (δὲ) rell. Lat.

[a] According to Scripture, the priests, the false prophets and the people opposed Jeremiah, while the nobles and elders supported him.

[b] Text and meaning uncertain.

Jeremiah opposes alliance with Egypt and is imprisoned. Jer. xxvi. 1 (LXX xxxiii. 1)

(2) But in the third year, having heard that the Egyptians were marching against the Babylonian king, he did not pay him tribute. However, he was disappointed of his hopes, for the Egyptians did not venture to undertake the campaign. And this was what the prophet Jeremiah foretold day after day, how that it was vain for them to cling to their hope of help from the Egyptians and that the city was destined to be overthrown by the king of Babylonia, and King Jōakeimos to be subdued by him. These things, however, he spoke to no avail, since there were none who were destined to be saved, for both the people and their rulers disregarded what they heard[a]; and, being angered by his words, they accused Jeremiah of having as prophet used divination against the king, and, bringing him to trial, demanded that he be sentenced to punishment. And so all the others cast votes against him, thereby rejecting the advice of the elders,[b] but these, being of wise understanding, released the prophet from the prison-hall[c] and advised the others to do Jeremiah no harm. For, they said, he was not the only one to foretell what would befall the city, but Michaias[d] before him had announced these things, as had many others, and none of them had suffered anything at

[c] Josephus is here evidently alluding to the αὐλὴ τῆς φυλακῆς as the LXX translates Heb. *ḥaṣar ham-mattārāh* "court of the prison" (in Zedekiah's palace) in Jer. xxxii. 2. It should not be surprising that Josephus seems to confuse some of the events of Jehoiakim's reign with those of Zedekiah's, since the chronology in both Heb. and Gr. texts of Jer. is confused, *e.g.* the narrative of Jehoiakim's reign is resumed after a passage dealing with that of Zedekiah. Weill understands by αὐλῆς here the court of the temple, *cf.* Jer. xxvi. (LXX xxxiii.) 7 ff., but this is unlikely.

[d] So LXX (*v.l.* Μειχαίας); bibl. Micah.

τῶν τότε βασιλέων οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ὡς προφήτης
93 τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς ἔτυχε τούτοις καταπραΰναντες τὸ
πλῆθος τοῖς λόγοις ἐρρύσαντο τῆς κατεψηφισμένης
αὐτοῦ κολάσεως τὸν Ἱερεμίαν, ὃς ἁπάσας τὰς
αὐτοῦ[1] προφητείας συγγραψάμενος νηστεύοντος τοῦ
δήμου καὶ ἐκκλησιάζοντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ
τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακείμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω
τὴν βίβλον, ἣν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβήσεσθαι
τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ ναῷ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἦν συντεταχώς.
94 ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνουσι παρ' αὐτοῦ
τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κελεύουσιν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν γραμ-
ματέα Βαροῦχον[2] ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, μή τισι
δῆλοι γένωνται, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον αὐτοὶ φέροντες τῷ
βασιλεῖ διδόασιν ὁ δὲ παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων
ἐκέλευσε τὸν αὐτοῦ γραμματέα λαβόντα ἀναγνῶναι
95 ἀκούσας δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ
βασιλεὺς διέρρηξέ τε καὶ βαλὼν εἰς πῦρ ἠφάνισε,
ζητηθέντας δὲ τόν τε Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα
Βαροῦχον ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι[3] πρὸς αὐτὸν κολασθη-
σομένους οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαφεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν
ὀργήν.
96 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον στρατευόμενον ἐπ'
αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δέχεται κατὰ
δέος[4] τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου,[5]
οὐδὲν νομίζων πείσεσθαι δεινὸν μήτε[6] ἀποκλείσας
97 μήτε[6] πολεμήσας, εἰσελθὼν[7] δ' εἰς αὐτὴν[8] ὁ Βαβυ-

[1] Niese αὐτοῦ codd E [2] Βάρουχον MSPE
[3] ἀναχθῆναι SPL adduci Lat.
[4] τὸ δέος τὸ παρὰ (τὸ 1° om L) MSPLV.
[5] τούτους M τούτου ὡς SPLV.
[6] μήτε . μήτε Dindorf μηδὲ (μηδ') vel μὴ μηδὲ codd.. οὔτε οὔτε E
[7] εἰσελθὼν ML Lat.. ἀπελθὼν rell. [8] αὐτὸν ROL².

the hands of those who were then kings, but had received honour as prophets of God. With these words they mollified the people and saved Jeremiah from the punishment to which he had been condemned. He then wrote down all his prophecies and, while the people kept a fast and were assembled in the temple, in the ninth[a] month of the fifth year of the reign of Jōakeimos, he read the book which he had composed concerning the things which were to befall the city and the temple and the people. But, when the leaders heard it, they took the book from him and ordered both him and his scribe Baruch to take themselves off and not let themselves be seen by anyone; as for the book, they carried it off and gave it to the king. And he, in the presence of his friends, ordered his scribe to take it and read it aloud. But, when he heard what was in the book, the king became angry and destroyed it by tearing it apart and throwing it into the fire. Then he ordered that a search be made for both Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch and that they be brought to him for punishment. So then they escaped his wrath.[b]

Jeremiah reads his prophecy of doom publicly. Jer. xxxvi. 9 (LXX xliii. 9).

(3) But not long after, when the king of Babylonia brought an army against him, Jōakeimos, in fear of what had been foretold by this prophet, received him, thinking that he would suffer no harm, as he had neither shut him out nor made war on him. On entering the city, however, the Babylonian king did

Jehoiakim put to death by Nebuchadnezzar. 2 Kings xxiv. 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6; Jer. xxii. 18.

[a] So Heb. and most LXX MSS.; LXX cod. B 8th.

[b] The form of this last sentence (οὗτοι μὲν οὖν) suggests that the account of their escape has been lost from Josephus's text or perhaps was omitted by him because of his doubt as to the meaning of the bibl. phrase, Jer. xxxvi (LXX xliii.) 26, "And the Lord hid them" (LXX "and they were hidden").

λώνιος[1] οὐκ ἐφύλαξε τὰς πίστεις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωακείμου, ὃν ἄταφον ἐκέλευσε ῥιφῆναι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάχιμον[2] κατέστησε βασιλέα τῆς
98 χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς δ' ἐν ἀξιώματι τρισχιλίους ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν[3] αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἰεζεκίηλος παῖς ὤν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον Ἰωάκειμον τὸν βασιλέα κατέσχε βιώσαντα μὲν ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τούτων ἕνδεκα, ὁ δὲ διαδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωάχιμος ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Νοόστης[4] ὄνομα πολίτιδος δέ, ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα
99 (vii 1) Τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα δόντα τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωαχίμῳ παραχρῆμα ἔλαβε δέος· ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ μνησικακήσας αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναιρέσεως ἀποστήσῃ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ πέμψας τοιγαροῦν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Ἰωάχιμον ἐν τοῖς

[1] ὁ Βαβυλώνιος om MSPLV.
[2] Ἰωάκειμον RO Zonaras: Ἰωάκιμον M[2] Ἰεχονίαν (infra Ἰωαχὶμ) L. Ἰεχωνίαν V. Ἰωακεὶμ E· Ioachu (infra Ioachim) Lat
[3] + αὐτοῦ RO + αὐτοὺς rell
[4] Νοστῆς M Νοοστῆς SP Noos Lat

[a] Josephus, like the rabbis, here connects with the reign of Jehoiakim the deportation mentioned in Jer lii 28, "This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive in the seventh year, three thousand and twenty-three Jews" No deportation of Jews in the reign of Jehoiakim is mentioned in 2 Kings or 2 Chron

[b] *Cf* Jer xxii 19, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem" According to 2 Kings Jehoiakim was buried with his fathers,

not keep his pledges but killed the most vigorous and best favoured of the inhabitants of Jerusalem[a] together with King Jōakeimos, whom he ordered to be cast out unburied before the walls,[b] and appointed his son Jōachimos[c] as king of the country and the city Those in power, three thousand in number,[d] he took captive and carried away to Babylon Now among them was the prophet Ezekiel, then a boy[e] Such, then, was the end that overtook King Jōakeimos at the age of thirty-six years,[f] of which he had reigned eleven Jōachimos, who succeeded him on the throne, had a mother named Noostē,[g] a native of the city, and reigned three months and ten days[h]

Accession Jehoiachin (Jōachimos) and deportation of Jews to Babylon 2 Kings xxiv 6, 2 Chron xxxvi 8

(vii 1) But after the Babylonian king had given the kingdom to Jōachimos, a sudden fear seized him, for he was afraid that Jōachimos might bear him a grudge for the killing of his father, and lead his country to revolt[i] He therefore sent a force which besieged Jōachimos in Jerusalem But he, being

Nebuchadnezzar deports more Jews to Babylon 2 Kings xxiv 10

nothing being said of the manner of his death, according to 2 Chron he was carried in chains to Babylon For rabbinic traditions, harmonizing these differences (which Josephus ignores), see Ginzberg iv 285

[c] Bibl Jehoiachin (*Yehôyākîn*), LXX 2 Kings Ἰωακείμ (*v l* Ἰωαχείμ), 2 Chron Ἰεχονίας The MSS of Josephus have Ἰεχονίας in § 229

[d] *Cf* note *a* above (Possibly the variant, adding *αὐτοῦ* "his" in Josephus's text, is a scribal note indicating that the number is an addition to Scripture made by Josephus)

[e] *Cf* Ezekiel i 1.

[f] According to 2 Kings xxiii. 36 = 2 Chron. xxxvi 5 Jehoiakim was 25 years old at his accession, added to which the 11 years of his reign give 36

[g] Bibl. Nehushta (*Nehuštā'*), LXX Νεσθά, Luc Νεεσθάν.

[h] So 2 Chron., 2 Kings 3 months

[i] Nebuchadnezzar's motive is an unscriptural detail, to which there is a parallel in rabbinic tradition

100 Ἱεροσολύμοις. ὁ δὲ φύσει χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος οὐκ ἠξίου τὴν πόλιν κινδυνεύουσαν δι' αὐτὸν περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀπάρας[1] τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς παραδίδωσι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου στρατηγοῖς, ὅρκους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
101 μηδὲν μήτ' αὐτοὺς παθεῖν μήτε τὴν πόλιν. οἷς[2] οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν[3] ἡ πίστις ἔμεινεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαβόντας αἰχμαλώτους νέους τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τεχνίτας δεδεμένους ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν[4] (ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι πάντες εἰς μυρίους ὀκτακοσίους τριακονταδύο) καὶ τὸν Ἰωάχιμον μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν
102 φίλων. τούτους δὴ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἐν φυλακῇ, τὸν δὲ θεῖον τοῦ Ἰωαχίμου Σαχχίαν[5] ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἦ μὴν φυλάξειν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίσειν μηδὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εὐνοήσειν.

103 (2) Σαχχίας δ' ἦν μὲν ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνός, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, ὁμομήτριος μὲν Ἰωακείμου

[1] ἐπάρας MSPLVE sumens Lat
[2] ὡς δ' ROSPLV
[3] οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν] οὐδενὶ (οὐδ' ἑνὶ SP) αὐτῶν ROSPLV.
[4] Niese: αὐτὸν codd.
[5] Σεδεκίαν L²V Lat.

[a] According to Scripture Jehoiachin was a wicked king like his father, but rabbinic tradition states that through suffering he became pious.

[b] Unscriptural details; bibl. (2 Kings) "And Jehoiachin, the king of Judah, went out to the king of Babylon, he and

kind and just,[a] did not think it right to suffer the city to be endangered on his account, and removed his mother and his relatives and delivered them to the commanders sent by the Babylonian king, after receiving their oath that neither these nor the city should suffer any harm.[b] But their pledge was not kept for even as long as a year,[c] for the Babylonian king did not observe it, but commanded his men to take captive all the young men and craftsmen in the city and bring them in chains to him—these came to ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two in all[d] —as well as Jōachimos with his mother and friends. And, when they had been brought to him, he kept them under guard, and appointed Jōachimos's uncle Sacchias[e] as king, after receiving his oath that he would surely keep the country for him and attempt no uprising nor show friendliness to the Egyptians.[f]

Accession of Zedekiah (Sacchias) 2 Kings xxiv. 17, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

(2) Now Sacchias was twenty-one years old when he took over royal power, and he was a brother of

Zedekiah is warned by Jeremiah.

his mother and his servants and his princes and his eunuchs (A.V. "officers"), and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year of his reign.

[c] Variant "was not kept to any of them." The detail "for even a year" is based on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10 "at the return of the year (A.V. "when the year was expired") King Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon," etc.

[d] According to 2 Kings xxiv. 14-16 Nebuchadnezzar took 10,000 captives, as well as the king, his family and retinue, and 8000 warriors and craftsmen, that is more than 18,000 in all. Josephus here combines the 10,000 first mentioned with the 832 captives, mentioned in Jer. lii. 29, who were taken in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar (that is, in the reign of Zedekiah, not Jehoiachin). Josephus omits the carrying off of the treasures of temple and palace, 2 Kings xxiv. 13.

[e] Bibl. Zedekiah (*Sidqîyāhû*), LXX Σεδεκία (*v.l.* -ίας).

[f] Scripture (2 Chron.) says merely that Nebuchadnezzar "made him swear by God."

τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ δικαίων καὶ τοῦ δέοντος
ὑπερόπτης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν[1] ἡλικίαν ἦσαν
ἀσεβεῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πᾶς ὄχλος ἐπ' ἐξουσίας
04 ὕβριζεν[2] ἃ ἤθελεν· διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πολλάκις ἐμαρτύρατο, κελεύων
τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας κατα-
λιπεῖν, προνοεῖν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μήτε τοῖς
ἡγεμόσι, τῷ εἶναι[3] ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηρούς, προσανέχειν
μήτε τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις ἀπατῶσιν αὐτὸν πεπι-
στευκέναι, ὡς οὐκέτι πολεμήσει τὴν πόλιν ὁ Βαβυ-
λώνιος καὶ ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι στρατεύσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
καὶ νικήσουσι· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγειν οὐδ'
05 οὕτως ὀφείλοντα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Σαχχίας ἐφ' ὅσον
μὲν ἤκουσε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐπείθετο
αὐτῷ καὶ συνῄνει[4] πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι καὶ συμ-
φέρον[5] αὐτῷ πεπιστευκέναι· διέφθειραν[6] δὲ πάλιν
αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι καὶ διῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου
06 πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελον. προεφήτευσε δὲ καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὰς μελλούσας τῷ λαῷ συμφορὰς καὶ
γράψας[7] ταῦτα ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ταῖς δὲ
προφητείαις αὐτῶν Σαχχίας ἠπίστησεν ἐκ τοιαύτης

[1] *οἱ κατὰ τὴν* ed. pr.: *τὴν* codd.: *νέοι τὴν* conj. Niese.
[2] *ἐξύβριζεν* ROLV.
[3] *τῷ εἶναι*] *εἶναι γὰρ* MSPLV Exc.
[4] Bekker: *συνῄδει* codd.
[5] *συμφέρειν* MSP Exc.: quasi prodesset Lat.
[6] *διέφθειρον* RO.
[7] O Zonaras: *ἀκούσας* rell.: om. E Lat.

[a] *i.e.* Jehoiachin's uncle; so Heb. and Luc. 2 Kings and LXX 2 Chron.; according to LXX 2 Kings Zedekiah was Jehoiachin's son; according to Heb. 2 Chron. he was Jehoiachin's brother.

[b] Josephus forgets that he has already (§ 83) given Jehoiakim's mother's name as Zabudah (bibl. Zebudah),

Jōakeimos[a] by the same mother,[b] but he was contemptuous of justice and duty,[c] for those of his own age about him were impious, and the entire multitude had licence to act as outrageously as it pleased.[d] It was for this reason that the prophet Jeremiah came to him and solemnly[e] protested, bidding him leave off his various impieties and lawless acts, and watch over justice and neither pay heed to the leaders, because there were wicked men among them, nor put faith in the false prophets who were deceiving him by saying that the Babylonian king would never again make war on the city and that the Egyptians would take the field against the Babylonian king and conquer him. For in this, he said, they spoke falsely and these things were not to be. Now Sacchias, so long as he listened to the prophet saying these things, believed him and agreed to everything as true and that it was to his interest to have faith in him; but his friends once more corrupted him and, winning him away from the prophet, led him wherever they pleased. Ezekiel too, in Babylon, prophesied the misfortunes that were to befall the people and wrote them down and sent them to Jerusalem. But Sacchias disbelieved their prophecies for the following reason.[f] Although

not to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar 2 Kings xxiv. 18, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, Jer. xxxvii. 1 (LXX xliv. 1)

while according to 2 Kings Zedekiah's mother's name was Hamutal. He confuses Jehoiakim with his brother Jehoahaz whose mother's name (*cf.* § 81 = 2 Kings xxiii. 31) was the same as Zedekiah's mother's.

[c] *Cf.* § 120 note *c*.

[d] *Cf.* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, "And also the chiefs of the priests (LXX "the nobles and the priests") and the people transgressed very much," etc.

[e] Or "frequently"; but πολλάκις here seems to have the force of πολλά which, with verbs of protesting, etc., means "solemnly" in Jos.

[f] This motivation is, of course, an invention of Josephus.

αἰτίας· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα συμφωνοῦντας τοὺς προφήτας ἀλλήλοις[1] εἰπεῖν συνέβη, ὡς ἥ τε πόλις ἁλώσεται καὶ Σαχχίας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ἔσται, διεφώνησε δὲ Ἰεζεκίηλος εἰπὼν οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα τὸν Σαχχίαν τοῦ Ἱερεμίου φάσκοντος αὐτῷ ὅτι δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἄξει βασιλεύς καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρους λέγειν καὶ περὶ ὧν συμφωνεῖν ἐδόκουν ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνα ἀληθῆ λέγουσι καταγνοὺς ἠπίστησε,[2] καίτοι πάντ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς προφητείας ἀπήντησεν, ἅπερ εὐκαιρότερον δηλώσομεν

(3) Τὴν συμμαχίαν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπ' ἔτη ὀκτὼ κατασχὼν διέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεις καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προστίθεται, καταλύσειν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλπίσας, εἰ[3] μετ' ἐκείνων γένοιτο[4] μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν χώραν κακώσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἧκε τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν πολιορκήσων αὐτήν ὁ δ' Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς ἐστιν ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ Σαχχίας, ἀναλαβὼν πολλὴν δύναμιν ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφίσταται τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ

[1] *συμφωνοῦντας . ἀλλήλοις* S· *συμφωνοῦντα* R· *συμφωνοῦντα τοὺς προφήτας* O· *συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς προφήταις ἀλλήλοις* M· *συμφωνοῦντας τοῖς προφήταις ἀλλήλοις* P. *σύμφωνα τοὺς προφήτας ἀλλήλοις* LV: consone a prophetis Lat

[2] *καταγνοὺς ἠπίστησε* Hudson: *καταγνοὺς* SP: *γνοὺς* ROMLV· *ἠπίστησε* E.

[3] Coccejı: *ἃ* M: *αἳ* rell.: *ἂν* Hudson.

[4] Coccejı: *ἐγένοντο* codd.. om Lat

in all other respects it appeared that the prophets agreed with each other in what they said, namely that the city would be taken and Sacchias himself be made captive, still Ezekiel, in saying that Sacchias would not see Babylon, differed from Jeremiah who told him that the king of Babylon would take him there in chains.[a] And, because they did not both say the same thing, he condemned as untrue even their statements about those things in which they seemed to agree, and refused to believe them.[b] Nevertheless everything happened to him in accordance with their prophecies, as we shall show in a more fitting place.[c]

Ezek. xii 13, Jer xxxiv 3 (LXX xli 3).

(3) After maintaining his alliance with the Babylonians for eight years, Sacchias broke his treaty with them and went over to the Egyptians, hoping to overthrow the Babylonians if he joined the other side.[d] And, when the Babylonian king heard of this, he marched against him and, after ravaging his country and taking his fortresses, he came against the city of Jerusalem itself to besiege it. But, when the Egyptian king heard of the plight of his ally Sacchias, he raised a large force and came to Judaea to end the siege. Thereupon the Babylonian king left Jerusalem and went to meet the Egyptians and,

Zedekiah's alliance with Egypt against Babylonia. 2 Kings xxiv 20, Jer lii 3.

Cf. Jer. xxxvii 5 (LXX xliv. 5).

[a] Ezek. xii 13 "... and I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldaeans, yet shall he not see it though he shall die there", Jer xxxiv. 3 "And thou shalt not escape out of his hand but shalt surely be taken and delivered into his hand; and thine eyes shall behold the king of Babylon and thy mouth shall speak to his mouth and thou shalt come to Babylon."

[b] Text slightly uncertain.

[c] § 141, where the two passages are harmonized.

[d] Text slightly uncertain.

συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς τῇ μάχῃ νικᾷ καὶ τρεψάμενος
111 αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἐξ ὅλης διώκει τῆς Συρίας. ὡς
δ' ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ
τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐξηπάτησαν οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται
τὸν Σαχχίαν λέγοντες οὔτε τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἔτι
αὐτὸν πολεμήσειν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, οὓς ἀνα-
στήσειεν[1] ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, μετὰ
πάντων ἥξειν[2] τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ σκευῶν, ὧν ἐσύλη-
112 σεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ νεώ. τἀναντία δὲ τούτων
καὶ ἀληθῆ παρελθὼν[3] Ἱερεμίας προεφήτευσεν, ὡς
ποιοῦσι μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἐξαπατῶσι τὸν βασιλέα,
παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὄφελος,
ἀλλὰ νικήσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐπιστρατεύ-
σειν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα μέλλει, καὶ πολιορκήσει τε
καὶ τῷ λιμῷ διαφθερεῖ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τοὺς περι-
λειφθέντας αἰχμαλώτους ἄξει, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας δι-
αρπάσει, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον ἐκφορήσας ἔτι
καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκάψει τὴν πόλιν,
"καὶ δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ
113 ἐπ' ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα παύσουσι δ' ἡμᾶς τότε τῆς
ὑπ'[4] αὐτοῖς δουλείας Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι
καταλύσαντες Βαβυλωνίους, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τήνδε ἀπο-
λυθέντες οἰκοδομήσομεν τὸν ναὸν πάλιν καὶ τὰ
114 Ἱεροσόλυμα καταστήσομεν." ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Ἱερε-
μίας ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἐπιστεύετο, οἱ δὲ
ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὡς ἐξεστηκότα τῶν φρενῶν

[1] οὓς ἀναστήσειεν ex Lat. Niese: οὔτε ἀναστήσειν codd
[2] Naber: δὲ (δ' LV) ἥξειν codd.: ἀνήξειν Niese
[3] προελθὼν RO [4] ἐπ' ROLVE

[a] The defeat of the Egyptians is an addition to Scripture, but probably based on Jer. xxxvii. 7, " . . Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come to help you, shall return to Egypt," etc.

encountering them in battle, defeated and put them to flight and drove them out of the whole of Syria.[a] Now, when the Babylonian king withdrew from Jerusalem, the false prophets deceived Sacchias by saying that the Babylonian king would not make war on him again and that his countrymen, whom the king had removed[b] from their own land to Babylonia, should come back with all the vessels of the temple, of which the king had despoiled it.[c] But Jeremiah came forward and prophesied the truth, which was the contrary of this, namely that they were doing the king a wrong and deceiving him, and that no good would come to them from the Egyptians, but that, when the Babylonian king had defeated them, he would lead an army against Jerusalem and besiege it and destroy the people by famine, carry off the survivors into captivity, plunder their possessions and, after carrying off the wealth in the temple, burn this itself and raze the city, "and we shall be slaves to him and his descendants for seventy years. At that time, by overthrowing the Babylonians, the Persians and Medes will free us from servitude to them, and, when we have been sent back by them to this land, we shall once more build the temple and restore Jerusalem."[d] In saying these things Jeremiah was believed by most of the people, but their leaders and the impious men ridiculed him as though he

Jeremiah prophesies the fall of Jerusalem. Jer. xxxvii. 7 (LXX xliv. 7).

The prophecy of seventy years' captivity. Jer. xxix. 10 (LXX xxxvi. 10).

[b] Emended text; MSS. "and would not remove his countrymen."

[c] The return of the vessels is an unscriptural detail.

[d] The Medes and Persians are not mentioned in the prophecy of Jeremiah; this detail is probably based on 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, " . . . and they were servants to him [Nebuchadnezzar] and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia" (LXX "the Medes").

αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐξεφαύλιζον. δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ που[1] εἰς τὴν πατρίδα παραγενέσθαι λεγομένην Ἀναθὼθ σταδίους δ' ἀπέχουσαν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εἴκοσι, συντυχὼν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων τις συλλαβὼν κατέσχε, συκοφαντῶν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυ-
115 λωνίους αὐτομολοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ψευδῆ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ, βαδίζειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα· ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθεὶς ἀλλὰ λαβὼν[2] αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν εἰς δίκην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑφ' ὧν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ βασάνους ὑπομείνας ἐφυλάττετο πρὸς τιμωρίαν· καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διῆγεν οὕτως, ἀδίκως πάσχων τὰ προειρημένα.
116 (4) Ἔτει δ' ἐνάτῳ τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας καὶ ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς στρατεύει τὸ δεύτερον ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσκαθίσας αὐτῇ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα μετὰ πάσης πολιορκεῖ φιλοτιμίας· συνεπέθετο δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ πολιορκουμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παθῶν, λιμὸς καὶ φθορὰ λοιμική,

[1] + καὶ RO
[2] συλλαβὼν MSPLV: vinctum Lat.

[a] Scripture at this point has "the land of Benjamin," but *cf.* Jer. i. 1, "The words of Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, of the priests who were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin."
[b] About 2½ miles (an unscriptural detail, of course). On the supposed site 'Anātā' *cf. Basor* nr. 63, Oct. 1936, pp. 22 ff.
[c] Bibl. "in the gate of Benjamin" (in Jerusalem).
[d] Heb. "master of the watch" (A.V. "captain of the ward"), LXX "a man with whom he lodged." His name is given in Scripture as Irijah (*Yir'iyāh*).
[e] This last detail is unscriptural.
[f] So LXX translates Heb. *sārîm* (A.V. "princes"); *cf.* § 129 note *b*.
[g] Or (punctuating differently) "he remained, so unjustly suffering," etc.

Jeremiah is imprisoned for alleged treason. Jer. xxxvii. 12 (LXX xliv. 12).

were out of his mind. Now once, when he had decided to go to his native place, called Anathoth,[a] which is twenty stades[b] distant from Jerusalem, there met him on the road[c] one of the magistrates,[d] who seized and held him, falsely charging him with deserting to the Babylonians. But Jeremiah said that he was bringing a false accusation against him and asserted that he was travelling to his home.[e] The other, however, was not convinced and took him and brought him to trial before the magistrates,[f] at whose hands he suffered every form of indignity and ill-treatment and was kept under guard for punishment. And for some time he remained thus, suffering the unjust treatment[g] here described.

Nebuchadnezzar again besieges Jerusalem. 2 Kings xxv. 1, Jer. xxxix. 1 (LXX xlvi. 1), lii. 4.

(4) In the ninth year of the reign of Sacchias, on the tenth day[h] of the tenth month,[i] the king of Babylon marched a second time[j] against Jerusalem and, encamping before it, besieged it with the utmost energy for eighteen months.[k] And, as the inhabitants of Jerusalem were under siege, they were attacked by two of the greatest of calamities, famine and pestilence,[l] which fell upon them severely.

[h] So Heb. and LXX Jer. lii. and Heb. 2 Kings; the day of the month is not given in Heb. Jer. xxxix. or in LXX Jer. xxxix. (xlvi.) and 2 Kings.

[i] So Heb. in all passages and most LXX MSS. in 2 Kings (*v.ll.* 12th month, 2nd month); LXX Jer. lii. 9th month.

[j] Josephus forgets that he has already written about two campaigns against Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the first in Jehoiakim's reign (§ 96), the second in Jehoiachin's reign (§ 99).

[k] Scripture states that the siege lasted from the 10th month of Zedekiah's 9th year to the 4th month of his 11th year (which equals 18 months).

[l] Both famine and pestilence are mentioned in Jer. xxxviii. 2, only the famine in Jer. lii. and 2 Kings.

117 ἐνσκήψαντα σφοδρῶς. ἐν δὲ τῇ εἱρκτῇ τυγχάνων ὁ προφήτης Ἱερεμίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεκράγει καὶ ἐκήρυσσε παραινῶν τῷ πλήθει δέξασθαι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἀνοίξαντας τὰς πύλας· σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς πανοικὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας, εἰ δὲ μή, δια-
118 φθαρήσεσθαι. προύλεγεν δ' ὡς εἰ μὲν ἐπιμένοι τις ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντως ἀπολεῖται θατέρῳ ἢ λιμῷ δαπανηθεὶς ἢ σιδήρῳ τῷ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ φύγοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, διαδράσεται τὸν θάνατον.
119 οὐδὲ[1] ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ[2] ὄντες τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπίστευον οἱ[3] ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες τῶν ἡγεμόνων,[4] ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπήγγελλον ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγοροῦντες ἠξίουν[5] κτεῖναι τὸν προφήτην ὡς μεμηνότα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προκατακλῶντα καὶ ταῖς τῶν χειρόνων καταγγελίαις τὸ πρόθυμον ἐκλύοντα τοῦ πλήθους· ἕτοιμον γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος κινδυνεῦσαι,[6] ὁ δὲ παρῄνει[7] πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φεύγειν, ἁλώσεσθαι λέγων τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας[8] ἀπολεῖσθαι.

120 (5) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ χρηστότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ παρωξύνθη, ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπεχθάνηται παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀντιπράττων αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, τὸν προφήτην
121 ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν θέλωσιν. οἱ[9] δὲ τοῦτο

[1] οὐδὲ] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲ (οὐδ' LV) SPLV. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦ πλήθους οὐκ E

[2] δὲ om. MSP: τοῦ πλήθους LV.

[3] οἱ om LV.

[4] τῶν ἡγεμόνων] οἱ δὲ (δ' E) ἡγεμόνες LVE

[5] ἠξίουν ex Lat. (poscebant) Niese: καὶ ᾐτιῶντο ROM κατῃτιῶντο rell.

[6] Niese: κινδυνεύσειν SPLV: pugnare Lat.: om ROM

[7] ex Lat. Niese: ἀπειλεῖ codd

[8] πάντως MSPLV

[9] ὡς ROM

The prophet Jeremiah, however, who was in prison, did not remain quiet but cried his message aloud and urged the people to open the gates and admit the Babylonian king; for, he said, if they did so, they would be saved together with their families, but if not, they would be destroyed. He also foretold that anyone who remained in the city would certainly perish in one of two ways, being made an end of either by famine or by the sword of the enemy, but that anyone who fled to the enemy would escape death. Nevertheless not even though they were in these straits did those of the leaders who heard his words believe him, but went in anger and reported them to the king and, denouncing Jeremiah, asked him to put the prophet to death as a madman who was breaking down their spirit beforehand and by his predictions of disaster was weakening the ardour of the people, who, they said, were ready to risk their lives for him and their country, while the prophet was urging them[a] to flee to the enemy, saying that the city would be taken and they would all[b] perish.

Jeremiah in prison urges surrender. Jer. xxxviii. 1 (LXX xlv. 1).

(5) Now the king himself, because of his goodness and sense of justice,[c] was in no way personally resentful but, in order not to incur the hostility of the leaders by opposing their wishes at such a time, he gave them leave to do as they liked with the

Zedekiah releases Jeremiah from prison. Jer. xxxviii. 5 (LXX xlv. 5).

[a] Emended text; MSS. "threatened."

[b] Variant "certainly."

[c] *Cf.* § 103 where Josephus, in agreement with Scripture, describes Zedekiah as a wicked king. According to rabbinic tradition "he was so good and pious that for his sake God relinquished his purpose of returning the world to its original chaos as a punishment for the evil-doing of a wicked generation" (Ginzberg iv. 294).

ἐφέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν εἰσελθόντες καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἴς τινα λάκκον βορβόρου πλήρη καθίμησαν, ὅπως ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ πνιγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ ὁ δὲ πρὸ[1] τοῦ αὐχένος ὑπὸ τοῦ
122 πηλοῦ[2] περισχεθεὶς ἐν τούτοις ἦν. τῶν δ' οἰκετῶν τις τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τιμῇ τυγχάνων Αἰθίοψ τὸ γένος τὸ περὶ τὸν προφήτην πάθος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ, φάσκων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι καταποντίσαντας εἰς βόρβορον τὸν προφήτην καὶ τοῦ διὰ τῶν δεσμῶν θανάτου πικρότερον οὕτως ἐσόμενον ἐπινοήσαντας
123 κατ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετανοήσας ἐπὶ[3] τῷ παραδοῦναι τὸν προφήτην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Αἰθίοπα τριάκοντα τῶν βασιλικῶν παραλαβόντα καὶ σχοινία καὶ πᾶν ὃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προφήτου σωτηρίαν[4] ἐπινοεῖν[5] χρήσιμον μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνελκύσαι τὸν Ἱερεμίαν ὁ δ' Αἰθίοψ παραλαβὼν οὓς ἐπετάγη ἀνέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου τὸν προφήτην καὶ διαφῆκεν ἀφύλακτον
124 (6) Μεταπεμψαμένου δ' αὐτὸν κρύφα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τί δύναται φράζειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σημαίνειν ἐρομένου, ἔχειν μὲν ἔλεγεν, οὐ πιστευθήσεσθαι δ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲ παραινέσας

[1] usque ad Lat · πρὸς Coccejі ἀπὸ Niese
[2] ex Lat. Coccejі πλήθους codd E
[3] Ernesti · ἐν codd
[4] τὴν . . σωτηρίαν ed pr : τῇ σωτηρίᾳ codd
[5] ἐπινοεῖ MSP.

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[a] Lit "die by his own death"

[b] Emended text; the MS. reading, "held fast by the multitude," is obviously corrupt

[c] Josephus, unlike the LXX, takes the Heb Ebed-melech ("servant of the king") as a noun phrase instead of a

prophet. As soon as the king had given them this leave, they went into the prison, took him away and let him down by ropes into a pit full of mud in order that he might suffocate and die by his own hand, as it were.[a] And so he remained there, held fast in the mud[b] up to his neck. But one of the king's servants,[c] an Ethiopian by race, who enjoyed his favour, reported the sad plight of the prophet to the king and argued that his friends and the leaders had done wrong to sink the prophet in mud and devise for him a death that would be so much more painful than one by imprisonment in chains.[d] When the king heard this, he repented of having delivered the prophet to the leaders, and ordered the Ethiopian to take thirty of the king's men with ropes and whatever he might think of use[e] in rescuing the prophet, and draw up Jeremiah with all haste. So the Ethiopian took the men as instructed and pulled the prophet up out of the mud and released him from confinement.[f]

(6) Now, when the king sent for him secretly and asked him what message he could give him from God and what course he could indicate in the present circumstances, the prophet replied that he had something to say but would not be believed if he spoke

Zedekiah secretly consults Jeremiah. Jer. xxxviii. 14 (LXX xlv. 14)

personal name. Scripture adds that he was a eunuch (LXX, however, omits this detail).

[d] Amplification. In Scripture the Ethiopian says merely that the nobles have done wrong to leave Jeremiah to starve.

[e] According to Scripture the king does not instruct the Ethiopian how to release Jeremiah, but the Ethiopian takes " old cast clouts and old rags " and lets them down to Jeremiah in order that he may put them under his armpits when he is drawn up.

[f] Bibl. " And Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison."

ἀκουσθήσεσθαι, "ἀλλὰ τί δή με[1] κακὸν[2] εἰργα-
σμένον ἀπολέσαι διέγνωσαν οἱ σοὶ φίλοι," φησί,
"καὶ ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν
ἐπιστρατεύσειν[3] φάσκοντες καὶ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς;
εὐλαβοῦμαι δὲ νῦν γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, μή με
125 κατακρίνῃς θανάτῳ" τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὅρκους
αὐτῷ δόντος ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσει οὔτε
τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐκδώσει, θαρσήσας τῇ δεδομένῃ[4]
πίστει συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν
126 τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν δι' αὐτοῦ
προφητεύειν ἔλεγεν, εἴ γε βούλεται σῴζεσθαι καὶ
τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν καὶ μήτε τὴν
πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος πεσεῖν, μήτε τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρη-
σθῆναι· μὴ πεισθέντα[5] γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτων παραίτιον
ἔσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ αὐτῷ πανοικὶ
127 τῆς συμφορᾶς ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι μὲν
αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν ἃ παραινεῖ καὶ λέγει συνοίσειν
αὐτῷ γινόμενα, δεδιέναι δὲ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας
τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, μὴ δια-
128 βληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθῇ παρε-
θάρσυνε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ προφήτης καὶ μάτην ὑπονοεῖν
τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔλεγεν· οὐδενὸς γὰρ κακοῦ πειραθή-
σεσθαι παραδόντα[6] τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὔτ' αὐτὸν

[1] ἀλλὰ τί δή με Naber ἀλλ' ὡς δὴ μέγα M ἀλλὰ δὴ μέγα RO · ἀλλὰ τί δὴ μέγα SPV · ἀλλὰ τὸ δὴ μέγα L

[2] κακόν τι ROM.

[3] ex Lat. Hudson · ἐπιστρατεύειν codd.

[4] ex Lat. Niese · λεγομένῃ codd

[5] ἐμπρησθῆναι· μὴ πεισθέντα ex seqq in Lat (quod si non fieret) Hudson: ἐμπρησθέντα codd · ἐμπρησθῆναι E concremari Lat

[6] traderet civitatem Lat.

nor would his advice be listened to "But what wrong have I done,"[a] he asked, "that your friends have determined to destroy me, and where now are those who asserted that the Babylonian king would not march against us again, and so deceived you?[b] I am, indeed, afraid now to speak the truth lest you condemn me to death" But, as the king gave him his oath that he himself would neither put him to death nor deliver him to the leaders, he was encouraged by the pledge thus given[c] and advised him to surrender the city to the Babylonians This, he said, God prophesied to the king through him, if, indeed, he wished to be saved and to escape the impending danger and not have the city brought down to the ground and the temple burned, for, if he disobeyed (this warning),[d] he would be the cause of these calamities to the inhabitants of the city and of the disaster to himself and all his house. The king, upon hearing this, said that he himself wished to do what Jeremiah advised and what he said it would be to his interest to have done, but that he was afraid of those who had deserted to the Babylonians, for he might be denounced by them to the king and punished The prophet, however, bade him take courage, and said that his apprehension of punishment was groundless, for he should suffer no harm by surrendering to the Babylonians, neither

[a] Emended text, the best MS. reading, "But what great wrong have (I) done," omits the subject ($\mu\epsilon$).

[b] This reference to the false prophets is an addition to Scripture.

[c] Emended text; MSS. "spoken."

[d] The words "for if he disobeyed" are conjecturally supplied from the Lat. by Hudson. Niese suspects a lacuna after "burned."

οὔτε τὰ τέκνα οὔτε τὰς γυναῖκας, μενεῖν[1] δὲ καὶ τὸν
129 ναὸν ἀπαθῆ. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἱερεμίαν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσε, προστάξας αὐτῷ πρὸς μηδένα
τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν τὰ δόξαντ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ
μηδὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, εἰ μαθόντες αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
μετάπεμπτον γεγονέναι πυνθάνονται τί κληθεὶς
εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, φράζειν τι τούτων, ἀλλὰ σκήπτε-
σθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεηθείη μὴ ἐν δεσμῷ
130 τυγχάνειν καὶ φυλακῇ. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἔλεγεν· ἐπυνθάνοντο γὰρ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν προ-
φήτην τί περὶ αὐτῶν ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
σκήπτεσθαι[2] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐλέχθη.[3]
131 (viii. 1) Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὁ
Βαβυλώνιος ἐντεταμένως σφόδρα καὶ προθύμως
εἴχετο· πύργους τε γὰρ μεγάλων οἰκοδομήσας
χωμάτων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεῖργε τοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν
ἐφεστῶτας, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὸν κύκλον ὅλον ἤγειρε
132 χώματα τοῖς τείχεσι τὸ ὕψος ἴσα. καρτερῶς δὲ[4]
καὶ προθύμως ἔφερον οἱ ἐντὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν·
ἔκαμνον γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν
νόσον τὴν λοιμικήν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἔνδον ὑπὸ τούτων
ἐλαυνόμενοι τῶν παθῶν, τὰς ψυχὰς ἔρρωντο πρὸς
τὸν πόλεμον, μηδὲ[5] πρὸς τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν
καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καταπληττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀντι-
μηχανήματα πρὸς πάντα τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀντ-
133 επινοοῦντες· ὡς εἶναι τὸν ὅλον ἀγῶνα καὶ τοῖς
Βαβυλωνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις τῆς ὀξύτητος

[1] Dindorf: μένειν codd. E. [2] σκέπτεσθαι LV.
[3] sunt gesta Lat: ἐπράχθη conj. Hudson: συνηνέχθη Niese.
[4] τε ROLV. [5] Dindorf: μήτε codd.

[a] The temple is not mentioned at this point (Jer. xxxviii. 17) in Scripture.

he himself nor his children nor his wives, and that the temple, moreover, should remain unharmed.[a] And so, after Jeremiah had spoken in this way, the king dismissed him, ordering him not to divulge to any of the citizens what they had decided on and not even to say anything about these matters to the leaders[b] if they should learn that he had been summoned by the king and should ask what Jeremiah had said to him when he was called, but should pretend to them that he had pleaded not to be kept in chains and under guard. And this, in fact, was what he did tell them. For they came to the prophet and asked what kind of story he had made up about them[c] when he came to the king. This, then, is what was said.[d]

(viii. 1) Now the Babylonian king applied himself very strenuously and zealously to the siege of Jerusalem; he built towers on great earthworks from which he kept back those stationed on the walls, and also erected round the whole circuit (of the city) many earthworks equal in height to the walls. But those within bore the siege with courage and spirit, for they did not weaken under either famine or disease, but, although plagued internally by these afflictions, opposed stout hearts to the war; neither were they dismayed at the devices and engines of their foes, but on their side devised engines to check all those used by the enemy, so that the contest between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem was wholly one of cleverness and skill, one

The Jews stoutly resist the Babylonians. 2 Kings xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4.

[b] Josephus here renders differently from the LXX the Heb. *sārîm* (A.V. "princes") which above (§ 114) he followed the LXX in translating by ἄρχοντες "magistrates."

[c] Variant "what he had inquired about them."

[d] Text uncertain; Lat. "this is what was done."

καὶ συνέσεως, τῶν μὲν πλέον[1] ἐν ταύτῃ δυνηθῆναι τὴν αἵρεσιν[2] οἰομένων εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, τῶν δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν οὐκ ἄλλῳ τιθεμένων[3] ἢ ἐν τῷ μὴ καμεῖν μηδ' ἀπειπεῖν ἀντεφευρίσκοντας[4] οἷς μάταια
134 τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπελεγχθήσεται μηχανήματα καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπὶ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἕως οὗ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν βελῶν, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἠκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι.
135 (2) Ἡιρέθη δ' ἡ πόλις ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας τοῦ τετάρτου μηνὸς τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ εἷλον δ' οὖν[5] οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οἷς ἐπίστευσε τὴν πολιορκίαν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν Ἀραβλαθᾷ[6] διέτριβε πόλει. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὀνόματα, εἴ τις ἐπιζητήσειε γνῶναι, οἵτινες τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πορθήσαντες ὑπέταξαν, ἦν Νηρεγάλσαρος,[7] Ἀρέμαντος,[8] Σεμέγαρος,[9] Ναβώ-
136 σαρις,[10] Ἀχαράμψαρις.[11] ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως

[1] τὸ πλέον Ernesti
[2] ἀναίρεσιν MSP.
[3] ἐν οὐκ ἄλλῳ τιθεμένων] οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ θεμένων LV
[4] ἀντεξευρίσκοντες LV · ἀντεξευρίσκοντας Naber
[5] δ' οὖν] γοῦν SPLV
[6] Niese · Ἀραβαθᾶ RMSLV Lat.. Ἀραμαθᾶ OP: Ῥαμαθᾶ E · Ῥεβλαθῷ ed pr
[7] ἦν Νηρεγάλσαρος conj ἦν Ἡρεγάλσαρος RO · Νὴρ Εὐαλέαρος M. ἦν Ῥευαλέαρος S: ἦν Ῥεγλάσαρος Ῥευαλέαρος P: ἦν (+ ταῦτα V) Ῥεγλάσαρος LV haec sunt Nergellasar Lat
[8] Ἀρέμμαντος SPLV: Arrematus Lat.
[9] Ἐμέγαρος ROM · Σεμεγάρος L
[10] Ναβωσάρης O. Μαβώσαρις M · Μαβωσάρις S · Ναβωσάρις L: Nabusar Lat.
[11] Ἀχαραμψάρης O: Ἐχαραμψαρὶς MV: Ἐχαραμψάρις SPL Charamsaris Lat

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[a] Variant "destruction"
[b] Josephus greatly amplifies the bibl account of the siege, probably, as Weill suggests, having in mind the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

side thinking that the capture [a] of the city could be more easily effected in this way, while the other placed its hope of deliverance solely in not wearying or giving up the search for counter-devices by which the engines of their foes might be rendered useless. And thus they held out for eighteen months until they were exhausted by the famine and by the missiles which the enemy hurled at them from the towers [b]

(2) The city was taken in the eleventh year of the reign of Sacchias, on the ninth day of the fourth month. And those who captured it were the commanders of the Babylonian army, to whom Nebuchadnezzar had entrusted the siege, for he himself was staying in the city of Arablatha [c] As for the names of the commanders to whom the sack of Jerusalem was assigned, if anyone should desire to know them, they were Nēregalsaros, Aremantos, Semegaros, Nabōsaris and Achaiampsaris [d] Now the city was

The fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) Jer. xxxix. 2 (LXX xlvi. 2)

[c] Conjectured form, MSS. Arabatha, Aramatha, bibl. Riblah, LXX Ῥεβλαθά, *v. l.* Δεβλαθά. Scripture adds (Jer. xxxix. 5) that it was in the land of Hamath. It is the modern *Rībleh* in the valley between Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Hermon, on the right bank of the Orontes river, *c.* 50 miles S.W. of Hamath.

[d] It seems hopeless to conjecture the original forms of these names in Josephus's text in view of the confusion both in the Heb. and Gr. texts of Scripture. It may suffice to transcribe the (six) names as given in Heb. and LXX (Josephus's forms, like those of LXX, indicate that the names were divided differently from the way in which our present Heb. text gives them): *Nergal-sar'eṣer*, *Samgar-nᵉbô*, *Sarsᵉkîm*, *Rab-sārîs*, *Nergal sar'eṣer* (*bis*), *Rab-mag*, Μαργανασὰρ καὶ Σαμαγὼθ (Cod. A Νηργὲλ Σασάσαρ Ἐισσαμαγάθ) καὶ Ναβουσαχὰρ καὶ Ναβουσαρείς, Ναγαργασνασέρ, Ῥαβαμάθ (cod. A Ῥαβαμάκ). According to S. Feigin, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1926) 155, the text of Jer. xxxix. 3 should read, "... Nebuzardan, the cook, Nebushazban, the omina-priest (*i.e.* inspector of omens), Nergal-sareser, the high priest (?)."

περὶ μέσην νύκτα καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν πολεμίων εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, γνοὺς ὁ Σαχχίας ὁ βασιλεύς, παραλαβὼν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς φίλους φεύγει μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τῆς καρτερᾶς φάραγγος καὶ διὰ
137 τῆς ἐρήμου φρασάντων δὲ τοῦτό τινων αὐτομόλων τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ὥρμησαν διώκειν αὐτόν, καταλαβόντες δὲ οὐκ ἄπωθεν Ἱεριχοῦντος ἐκυκλώσαντο αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ συμφυγόντες τῷ Σαχχίᾳ ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας εἶδον, καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν διεσπάρησαν ἄλλος
138 ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔγνω περιλειφθέντα δ'[1] αὐτὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ζωγρήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. παραγενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀσεβῆ καὶ παράσπονδον ἀποκαλεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ ἀμνήμονα[2] τῶν πρόσω[3] λόγων, οὓς ἐποιήσατο σώζειν[4] αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν ὑποσχό-
139 μενος. ὠνείδιζε δὲ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μὲν λαβόντι τὴν βασιλείαν (Ἰωαχίμου[5] γὰρ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἀφελόμενον ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι) χρησαμένῳ[6] δὲ τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος "ἀλλὰ μέγας," εἶπεν, "ὁ θεός, ὃς μισήσας σου τὸν τρόπον ὑπο-

[1] τε RO
[2] ἀγνώμονα SPLV.
[3] πρὸ τοῦ Cocceji
[4] σώσειν Niese.
[5] Naber Ἰωακείμου ROE. Ἰακίμου M· Ἰωακίμου SP· Ἰωναχίμου L[1]. Ἰεχονίου L marg.: Ἰεχωνίου V: ab eius fratre Lat.
[6] E: χρησαμένων M. χρησάμενον rell.

[a] Or "steep valley" (?) The above translation is preferable if we assume that Josephus has in mind the scriptural detail "by way of the gate between the two walls" According to rabbinic tradition Zedekiah tried to escape through a

taken about midnight and when Sacchias learned that the enemy commanders had entered the temple, he took his wives and children and his officers and friends and fled with them from the city through the fortified valley [a] and through the wilderness But, when some deserters told the Babylonians of this,[b] they started out at dawn in pursuit of him and overtook him not far from Jericho, where they surrounded him And, when the friends and officers of Sacchias who had fled with him saw the enemy close upon them, they abandoned him and scattered in different directions, each one determined to save himself [c] So Sacchias was left with only a few men round him, and the enemy captured him alive and brought him with his children and wives to the king. And, when he came before him, Nebuchadnezzar began to denounce him as an impious wretch and a violator of treaties who had forgotten [d] the words which he had spoken earlier when he had promised to keep the country safely for him He also reproached him for his ingratitude in having first received the kingdom from him—for Nebuchadnezzar had taken it away from Jōacheimos, to whom it belonged, and given it to him—and then used his power against the one who had bestowed it on him "But," he said, "great is God who in His abhorrence of your conduct has made you fall into

Capture of Zedekiah. 2 Kings xxv 6, Jer xxxix. 5 (LXX xlv 5), Jer lii

cave extending from his house to Jericho, cf Ginzberg iv. 293

[b] Unscriptural detail Rabbinic tradition explains that the Babylonians stumbled on Zedekiah while hunting a deer sent by God, cf Ginzberg, *ibid*

[c] Amplification of Jer lii 8, " . . and all his army was scattered from him."

[d] Variant "ignored"

140 χείριον ἡμῖν ἔθηκε" χρησάμενος δὲ τούτοις πρὸς Σαχχίαν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα,[1] αὐτοῦ[2] τε Σαχχίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων βλεπόντων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκόψας τοῦ Σαχχίου δήσας ἤγαγεν εἰς
141 Βαβυλῶνα. καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ συνέβη, ἃ Ἱερεμίας τε καὶ Ἰεζεκίηλος προεφήτευσαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι συλληφθεὶς ἀχθήσεται πρὸς τὸν Βαβυλώνιον καὶ λαλήσει αὐτῷ κατὰ στόμα καὶ ὄψεται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἱερεμίας εἶπε, τυφλωθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀχθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην οὐκ εἶδε, καθὼς Ἰεζεκίηλος προεῖπε.

142 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς ἐμφανίσαι δυνάμενα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι ποικίλη τέ ἐστι καὶ[3] πολύτροπος καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἀπαντᾷ[4] τεταγμένως, ἅ τε δεῖ γενέσθαι προλέγει, τήν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδὲν προιδεῖν εἰάθησαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων, ἀφύλακτοι δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρεδόθησαν, ὡς ἀμήχανον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πεῖραν διαφυγεῖν.

143 (4) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους βασιλεύσαντες οὕτως κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον, εἴκοσι μὲν καὶ εἷς γενόμενοι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως, ἔτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύσαντες πεντακόσια καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα ἕξ[5] ὧν

[1] ἐκέλευσεν . . . παραχρῆμα] ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς φίλους παραχρῆμα (παραχ. κ. τ. φίλους tr. MS) θῦσαι MSPLVE.
[2] ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ (αὐτοὺς LV) SPLVE.
[3] καὶ πάντα MSPLV.
[4] ἅπαντα ROL Lat.
[5] δέκα ἕξ] ιϛ′ VE · δέκα ἓξ L Zonaras.

our hands."[a] After addressing Sacchias in these terms, he ordered his sons and his friends to be put to death on the spot[b] while Sacchias himself and the other captives looked on, and then, having put out Sacchias's eyes, he bound him in chains and took him off to Babylon. And thus there befell him what both Jeremiah and Ezekiel had prophesied to him, namely that he would be captured and brought to the Babylonian king and speak to him to his face and with his own eyes look into his eyes, which is what Jeremiah had said; furthermore, being blinded and taken to Babylon, he did not see it, as Ezekiel had foretold.[c]

(3) These things, then, which we have related should make sufficiently clear to those who do not know, how varied and manifold is the nature of God and how those things which He foretells must come to pass, duly take place at the appointed hour, and should also make clear the ignorance and disbelief of these men, by which they were prevented from foreseeing any of these future events and, when they were delivered over to disaster, were taken off their guard, so that any attempt to escape from it was impossible for them. On the inevitability of divine prophecy

(4) Thus, then, did the kings of David's line end their lives; there were twenty-one[d] of them including the last king, and they reigned altogether for five hundred and fourteen years, six months and

[a] These remarks on Nebuchadnezzar's behaviour and speech are an addition to Scripture.

[b] Variant "his sons to be put to death and his friends to be slaughtered (lit. "sacrificed") on the spot."

[c] *Cf.* § 106 note *a*.

[d] Excluding Queen Athaliah (who was not of David's line).

εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σαοῦλος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχων.

144 (5) Ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος πέμπει τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην[1] εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συλήσοντα τὸν ναόν, προστάξας ἅμα καὶ καταπρῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τήν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος καθελεῖν
145 καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν μεταστῆσαι. ὃς γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας συλᾷ τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ βαστάζει τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λουτῆρα ὃν Σολομὼν ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτι γε μὴν τοὺς στύλους τοὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν τάς τε χρυσᾶς τραπέζας καὶ τὰς λυχνίας.
146 βαστάσας δὴ ταῦτα ἀνῆψε τὸν ναὸν μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἑνδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Σαχχίου βασιλείας,

[1] Ναβουχαδάννην RO Ναβουχαδάρνην M[1]. Nabuzardan Lat

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[a] Variant 16 days.

[b] Probably we should read πάρεξ ὧν εἴκοσι "exclusive of the 20 years during which," etc If we exclude the 20 years of Saul's reign (*cf Ant* vi. 378 note *f*), we have here 514 years 6 months 10 days for the period between David and the destruction of the temple, which agrees with the chronology given below (§ 147) for the period between the building of the temple and its destruction, *i.e* 470 years 6 months 10 days, by adding to this figure the 4 preceding years of Solomon's reign and the 40 years of David's But the actual total of the regnal years of the kings of Judah from David to Zedekiah, as given by Josephus, appears to be 507 years 6 months 20 days reckoned as follows .

David	40 years	(*Ant* vii 389)	Jehoash	40 years	(*Ant* ix 158, 172)
Solomon	80 „	(„ viii 211)	Amaziah	29 „	(„ „ 204)
Rehoboam	17 „	(„ „ 264)	Uzziah	52 „	(„ „ 227)
Abijah	3 „	(„ „ 285)	Jotham	16 „	(„ „ 243)
Asa	41 „	(„ „ 314)	Ahaz	16 „	(„ „ 257)
Jehoshaphat	25 „	(„ ix 44)	Hezekiah	29 „	(„ x 36)
Jehoram	8 „	(„ „ 104)	Manasseh	55 „	(„ „ 46)
Ahaziah	1 „	(„ „ 121)			

ten days[a], for twenty years of which time[b] their first king Saul held the royal power though he was not of the same tribe.

(5) Then the Babylonian king sent his general Nabūzardanēs[c] to Jerusalem to despoil the temple, and ordered him at the same time to burn down both it and the palace and to raze the city to the ground and transplant the people to Babylonia. And, when he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Sacchias's reign, he despoiled the temple and carried out the gold and silver vessels of God, in particular the great laver which Solomon had set up and even the bronze pillars and their capitals, as well as the golden tables[d] and the lampstands. And, when he had carried these out, he set fire to the temple on the new moon[e] of the fifth month in the eleventh

End of David's royal line

Destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. 2 Kings xxv. 8, Jer. lii. 12

Amon	2 years	(Ant. x. 47)	Jehoiakim	11 years	(Ant. x. 98)
Josiah	31 ,,	(,, ,, 77)	Jehoiachin	3 mo. 10 d.	(,, ,, ,,)
Jehoahaz	3 mo. 10 d.	(,, ,, 83)	Zedekiah	11 years	(,, ,, 135)

Total, 507 years 6 months 20 days.

Thus there is a discrepancy of about 7 years between the dead reckoning of regnal years and the summarized chronology given above. If, however, we assume that Josephus inconsistently (*cf.* § 143 note *d*) counted in the 6 years of Athaliah (*Ant.* ix. 142) the discrepancy is reduced to about a year. Possibly Josephus would have accounted for the remaining period by explaining that to the dead reckoning we must add 6 months for David (*Ant.* vii. 389) and about 5 months for Zedekiah (*Ant.* x. 135).

[c] Bibl. Nebuzaradan, LXX Ναβουζαρδάν.

[d] The golden tables are not specifically mentioned in Scripture. Moreover in Scripture the burning of the temple precedes the carrying off of the vessels.

[e] 2 Kings (Heb. and LXX) "on the 7th (Luc. 9th) day of the month", Jer. "on the 10th day of the month." Franz Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, pp. 474 f., assuming Josephus to have been an expert on the calendar, gives an elaborate mathematical explanation of this discrepancy.

ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου ἐνέπρησε δὲ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέ-
147 στρεψεν[1] ἐνεπρήσθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας, ἀφ' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη· τῇ δ' ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μεταναστάσει τοῦ λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἔτη χίλια ἑξηκονταδύο, μῆνες ἕξ, ἡμέραι δέκα· τῷ δὲ κατακλυσμῷ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πορθήσεως χρόνος ἦν ὁ πᾶς ἐτῶν χιλίων ἐνακοσίων πεντηκονταεπτά, μηνῶν ἕξ, ἡμερῶν
148 δέκα· ἐξ οὗ δ' ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἄδαμος μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν συμβάντων ἔτη ἐστὶ τετρακισχίλια[2] πεντακόσια δεκατρία,[3] μῆνες ἕξ, ἡμέραι δέκα. τοσοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ τούτων τῶν ἐτῶν πλῆθος ὅσα γε μὴν[4] ἐπράχθη καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν συμβεβηκότων δεδηλώ-
149 καμεν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως κατασκάψας τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μεταναστήσας ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σα-

[1] κατέσκαψεν (-ψε L) LVE
[2] τρισχίλια LVE Lat Zonaras [3] δέκα RO.
[4] γε μὴν Niese: μὴν ROLV · δὲ MSP.

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[a] Bibl. 19th.

[b] *Cf.* § 143 note *b*. But according to *Ant.* xx. 232 the high priesthood from Sadok to Josadak lasted 466 years In the latter passage Josephus has carelessly subtracted 4 years from the 470 years of the temple's duration instead of adding 4, since Sadok was high priest in the first year of Solomon's reign, and the temple was built in the 4th year of his reign.

[c] This chronology agrees with that given in *Ant* vii. 68 and viii. 61 where the interval from the Exodus to the building of the temple is reckoned as 592 years (592 + 470 = 1062).

year of Sacchias's reign, the eighteenth[a] of Nebuchadnezzar's. He also burnt the palace and demolished the city. Now the temple was burned four hundred and seventy years, six months and ten days after it was built[b], from the migration of the people from Egypt it was an interval of one thousand and sixty-two years, six months and ten days[c]; from the flood to the sacking of the temple the whole period of time was one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven years, six months and ten days[d]: and from the birth of Adam to the time when these things happened to the temple it was an interval of four thousand[e] five hundred and thirteen[f] years, six months and ten days[g] This, then, is the number of years in question; as for the events that took place (during this time), we have related them severally, each in its place. Now, when the general of the Babylonian king had demolished Jerusalem and removed the people, he took captive the high

Chronological summary.

Third deportation of Jews to Babylon

But, as noted earlier (*loc. cit*), it disagrees with the chronology given in *Ant.* xx 230 and *Ap* ii. 19 where the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple is reckoned as 612 years. According to this latter figure, the interval between the Exodus and the destruction of the temple would be 1082 years.

[d] According to this reckoning the interval from the Flood to the building of the temple would be 1487 years (1957 − 470 = 1487), which differs from the figure of 1440 years given in *Ant.* viii. 61.

[e] Variant 3000

[f] Variant 10

[g] Neither this figure nor the variant 3513 can be reconciled with that of 3102 years given in *Ant.* viii. 62 as the interval between Adam and the building of the temple (this in turn varies from the chronology given in *Ant.* i. 82), for, if we add to 3102 the sum of 470 years as the duration of the temple, we get 3572 years as the total interval from Adam to the destruction of the temple.

ραῖον[1] καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν[2] ἱερέα Σεφενίαν[3] καὶ τοὺς
φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἡγεμόνας (τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν
οὗτοι) καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εὐνοῦχον καὶ τοὺς
φίλους τοῦ Σαχχίου ἑπτὰ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας ἑξήκοντα, οὓς ἅπαντας μεθ'
ὧν ἐσύλησε σκευῶν ἐκόμισε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς
150 'Αραβλαθὰν[4] πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ
μὲν ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεῖ
τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτεμεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάντας τοὺς
αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὸν Σαχχίαν ἤγαγεν[5] εἰς Βαβυ-
λῶνα δέσμιον δ'[6] ἐπήγετο καὶ 'Ιωσάδακον[7] τὸν
ἀρχιερέα ὄντα υἱὸν Σαραία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃν ἀπ-
έκτεινεν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν 'Αραβλαθᾷ πόλει τῆς
Συρίας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.
151 (6) 'Επεὶ δὲ τὸ γένος διεξήλθομεν τὸ τῶν βασι-
λέων καὶ τίνες ἦσαν δεδηλώκαμεν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους
αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων
εἰπεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τὴν ἀρχιερω-

[1] Σέβεον MSP Σεβαῖον RO Σαβαῖον E Zonaras Saream Lat

[2] αὐτοῦ MSP [3] Σοφονίαν LV · Iosadach Lat

[4] Niese. Σαλάβαθα (-αν R) RO · Σαλαμαθᾶ MSP Σαβολαθᾶ LV. Arabatha Lat · 'Ρεβλαθὰ ed. pr

[5] ἤγαγεν om RO [6] δ' om RO

[7] 'Ιωσάδωκον SP. 'Ιωσάδοκον ML · Iosadach Lat.

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[a] Variants Sebeos, Sebaios (the MSS read Saraios or Sareos below); bibl. Seraiah (*S^erāyāh*), LXX Σαραίας, *cf.* § 153 note *e*

[b] Bibl. Zephaniah (*Ṣ^ephanyāhû*), LXX Σοφονίας, Luc Σαφανίας.

[c] Variant "the priest with him", the reading adopted above agrees more closely with Scripture where Zephaniah is called "the second priest."

priest Saraios [a] and Sephenias,[b] the priest next to him in rank,[c] and the officers who guarded the temple —there were three of these [d]—and the eunuch in charge of the soldiers and seven [e] friends of Sacchias and his scribe and sixty other officers, all of whom he carried off, together with the vessels he had taken as spoil, to the king at Arablatha,[f] a city in Syria. As for the high priest and the officers, the king ordered their heads to be cut off there, while he himself took all the captives and Sacchias to Babylon; he also carried off in chains the high priest Jōsadakos,[g] a son of the high priest Saraios, whom the Babylonian king had killed in Arablatha, a city in Syria, as we have already related. 2 Kings xxv 18, Jer lii 24

(6) Since we have enumerated those who were of the royal line and have told who they were and what were the years (of their reigns), I have thought it necessary also to give the names of the high priests and tell who founded [h] the high priesthood in the List of high priests

[d] Heb. "three keepers of the threshhold" (A.V. "door", LXX "doorpost"). Josephus's phrase, "officers who guarded the temple," may reflect the Targum's rendering *amark^elayyā* "temple-trustees."

[e] So Jer.; 2 Kings 5.

[f] Conjectured form; MSS. Salabatha, Salamatha, Sabolatha; bibl. Riblah, *cf.* § 135 note *c*.

[g] Bibl. Jehozadak (*Y^ehôṣādāq*), LXX Ἰωσαδάκ, *v.l.* Ἰωσεδέκ.

[h] Text and meaning doubtful; suggested reading "held" or "received." But according to 1 Chron. vi. 10 (Heb. v. 36) Azariah, in the fourth generation after Zadok, "was priest in the temple which Solomon built," apparently meaning that he was priest in Solomon's time. This is probably why Josephus says that he will write of those "who founded the high priesthood" (if καταδείξαντες here means "founded"), thus vaguely including the first four priests from Zadok, the contemporary of Solomon, to Azariah.

152 σύνην καταδείξαντες[1] ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Σάδωκος ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃν Σολομὼν ᾠκοδόμησε μετ' αὐτὸν δ' ὁ υἱὸς Ἀχιμᾶς διαδέχεται τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μετὰ Ἀχιμᾶν Ἀζαρίας, τούτου δὲ Ἰώραμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωράμου Ἴως,[2] μετ'
153 αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀξιώραμος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀξιωράμου Φιδέας, τοῦ δὲ Φιδέα Σουδαίας,[3] τοῦ δὲ Σουδαία Ἰουῆλος,[4] τοῦ δὲ Ἰώθαμος, Ἰωθάμου δὲ Οὐρίας, Οὐρία δὲ Νηρίας, Νηρία δὲ Ὠδαίας,[5] τοῦ δὲ Σαλλοῦμος,[6] Σαλλούμου δὲ Ἐλκίας, Ἐλκία δ' Ἄζαρος,[7] τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσάδακος ὁ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα οὗτοι πάντες παῖς[8] παρὰ πατρὸς διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην

154 (7) Παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαχχίαν μὲν εἶχεν, ἄχρις οὗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν εἱρκτῇ, θάψας δ' αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐκ

[1] κατασχόντες ex Lat (habuerunt) Cocceji
[2] Ἰσω SP Ἴσος L Ἶσος V· Ἴος E
[3] Σουδέας MI V E
[4] Ἰούηλος MSP· Ἰοῦλος LV· Ἴουλος E· Hilus Lat
[5] Ὠδέας SPVE Οὐδέας M.
[6] Σαλοῦμος RO. Σάλουμος M· Σαλδοῦμος LV· Σάλδουμος E
[7] Ἀζαροακχώρ (-άκχωρ LV) E¹LV. Σαβαῖος E²· Zaroch Lat post Ἄζαρος lacunam statuit Niese
[8] παῖδες ROMSP.

[a] Bibl Zadok (*Ṣādôq*), LXX Σαδώκ, Luc. Σαδδούκ. *Cf. Ant.* viii. 10 ff.
[b] Bibl Ahimaaz (*'Ăḥîmā'as*), LXX Ἀχειμάας.
[c] So LXX, bibl Azariah (*'Azaryāh*).
[d] From here on Josephus's list diverges considerably from Scripture (both Heb. and LXX), where, after Azariah, the following names are given ·

Johanan (*Yôḥānān*), Ἰωανάς
Azariah (*'Azaryāh*), Ἀζαρίας
Amariah (*'Amaryāh*), Ἀμαρίας

period of the kings The first to become high priest of the temple which Solomon built was Sadok [a], after him his son Achimas [b] succeeded to the office, and after Achimas, Azarias,[c] then his son Jōramos,[d] next Jōramos's son Iōs, after him Axiōramos, then Axiōramos's son Phideas, then Phideas's son Sūdaios, then Sūdaios's son Jūēlos, then Jūēlos's son Jōthamos, then Jōthamos's son Ūrias, then Ūrias's son Nērias, then Nērias's son Ōdaias, then Ōdaias's son Sallūmos, then Sallūmos's son Elkias, then Elkias's son Azaros, and finally Azaros's son Jōsadakos, who was taken captive to Babylon In every case the son succeeded his father in the high priesthood [e] 1 Chron vi 8 (Heb v 34)

(7) Now, when the king came to Babylon, he kept Sacchias in prison until he died and then buried him royally,[f] after which he dedicated to his own gods Death of Zedekiah in Babylon Jer. xxxiv 5

Ahitub (*'Aḥîṭûb*), Ἀχειτώβ
Zadok (*Ṣādôq*), Σαδώκ
Shallum, Σαλώμ (*v l* Σελλούμ)
Hilkiah (*Ḥilqîyāh*), Χελκείας
Azariah (*'Azaryāh*), Ἀζαρίας
Seraiah (*Serāyāh*), Σαραίας
Jehozadak (*Yehôṣādāq*), Ἰωσαδάκ.

Still other names appear in the list given in the rabbinic chronological work *Seder Olam*

[e] In *Ant* xx 231 Josephus mentions 18 high priests of the first temple. In the present list there are only 17. Possibly the name Saraias (bibl Seraiah) has been accidentally omitted after Azaros (bibl Azariah) because of the similarity.

[f] Scripture does not tell explicitly how Zedekiah died and was buried, but *cf* the prophecy in Jer. xxxiv. 5, " But thou shalt die in peace, and with the burnings of thy fathers . . . they shall burn (A.V adds " odours ") for thee and they shall lament thee " etc Rabbinic tradition agrees with Josephus in stating that Zedekiah received royal burial in Babylonia, though the rabbis do not all agree as to whether Zedekiah was released from prison before or after Nebuchadnezzar's death, *cf* Ginzberg vi 383, 428

τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων συληθέντα ναοῦ ἀνέθηκε τοῖς ἰδίοις θεοῖς, τὸν δὲ λαὸν κατῴκισεν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίτιδι χώρᾳ, τὸν δ᾽ ἀρχιερέα ἀπέλυσε τῶν δεσμῶν.

155 (ix. 1) Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Ναβουζαρδάνης αἰχμαλωτίσας τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸν τοὺς πένητας καὶ αὐτομόλους ἐκεῖ κατέλιπεν, ἀποδείξας αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Γαδαλίαν[1] ὄνομα Ἀικάμου[2] παῖδα τῶν εὖ γεγονότων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἐπέταξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ἐργαζομένοις[3] τῷ βασιλεῖ τελεῖν[4] φόρον

156 ὡρισμένον. Ἱερεμίαν δὲ τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἔπειθεν[5] εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι· κεκελεῦσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ χορηγεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ βούλεται, δηλοῦν αὐτῷ ποῦ μένειν διέγνωκεν, ἵνα τοῦτο ἐπισταλῇ[6]

157 τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὔθ᾽[7] ἕπεσθαι ἤθελεν οὔτ᾽ ἀλλαχόσε που μένειν, ἡδέως δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρειπίοις τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις αὐτῆς διαζῆσαι λειψάνοις. γνοὺς δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ στρατηγός, τῷ Γαδαλίᾳ προστάξας, ὃν κατέλιπεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν καὶ χορη-

[1] Γοδαλίαν SP Γοδολίαν LVE Zonaras Lat.
[2] ed. pr.: Ἰκάμου ROM: Ἱκάμου SP: Ἀχικάμου L: Ἐλικάμου V: Ἰακώβου E: Ican Lat.
[3] ἐργασαμένοις ROM.
[4] τελέσειν ROMSP: om. L.
[5] E: ἔπεισεν codd.
[6] ἐπιστείλῃ MSP Lat.
[7] Dindorf: οὐδ᾽ MSP: οὐδὲ ROLE: οὐδὲν V.

[a] Unscriptural detail (Jehozadak is meant).
[b] Bibl. Gedaliah (*G*ᵉ*dalyāhû*), LXX Γοδολίας (*cf. v.l.* in Josephus).
[c] Variants Ikamos, Achikamos, etc.; bibl. Ahikam (*'Aḥîqām*), LXX Ἀχεικάμ.
[d] Unscriptural details.

the vessels taken as spoil from the temple in Jerusalem, and settled the people in the territory of Babylonia, while he released the high priest from confinement.[a] (LXX xli 5) 2 Chron xxxvi 7.

Gedaliah (Gadalias) appointed governor of Judaea. 2 Kings xxv 22, Jer xl. 1 (LXX xlvii. 1).

(ix. 1) As for the general Nabūzaidanēs, after taking captive the Hebrew people, he left behind the poor and the deserters in the country and, appointing a governor over them, named Gadalias,[b] son of Aikamos,[c] who was of noble family and kind and just,[d] he imposed upon them the payment of a fixed tribute to the king from the cultivation of the soil.[e] Then he took the prophet Jeremiah out of prison [f] and tried to persuade him to go with him to Babylon, for, he said, he had been ordered by the king to provide him with everything; but, if he were unwilling, he should let him know where he had decided to remain, in order that word of this might be sent to the king. The prophet however, neither wished to accompany him nor to dwell anywhere else, but was content to live on among the ruins of his native land and its miserable remains.[g] When the general learned of his resolve, he commanded Gadalias, whom he left behind, forthwith to take all possible care of him and provide him with everything he might

Jeremiah refuses to leave the country. Jer xl 4 (LXX xlvii. 4).

[e] So Josephus interprets the bibl. phrase "serve (LXX "work for") the king of Babylon."

[f] *Cf.* Jer. xl 1, ". . . after Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, sent him (A.V. "let him go") from Ramah (LXX "the captain of the guard from Daman," *cf* § 158 note *b*) where he had taken him bound in chains" etc.

[g] Jeremiah's refusal to leave Palestine is implied but not directly stated in Scripture. According to one rabbinic tradition Jeremiah went with the captives and accompanied them as far as the Euphrates where he left them to return to Palestine, *cf* Ginzberg iv. 310 ff, vi 390 ff.

γίαν ὅσων ἂν δέηται δωρησάμενός τε[1] αὐτὸν
158 δωρεαῖς πολυτελέσιν ἀπέλυσεν. καὶ Ἱερεμίας μὲν
κατέμεινεν[2] ἐν πόλει τῆς χώρας Μασφαθᾷ[3] καλου-
μένῃ παρακαλέσας τὸν Ναβουζαρδάνην ἵν' αὐτῷ
συναπολύσῃ τὸν μαθητὴν Βαροῦχον Νήρου δὲ παῖδα
ἐξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας ὄντα καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ
γλώττῃ διαφερόντως πεπαιδευμένον
159 (2) Ναβουζαρδάνης δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὥρ-
μησεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα οἱ δὲ πολιορκουμένων
Ἱεροσολύμων φυγόντες διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ τὴν
χώραν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἤκουσαν ἀνα-
κεχωρηκότας καὶ λείψανά τινα καταλελοιπότας ἐν
τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν[4] γῇ καὶ[5] τοὺς ταύτην ἐργα-
σομένους, συλλεχθέντες πανταχόθεν ἧκον πρὸς
160 τὸν Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασφαθάν ἡγεμόνες δ' ἦσαν
ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰωάδης[6] υἱὸς Καρίου[7] καὶ Σαρέας[8] καὶ
Ἰωαζανίας[9] καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τούτοις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
βασιλικοῦ γένους ἦν τις Ἰσμάηλος πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ
καὶ δολιώτατος, ὃς πολιορκουμένων τῶν Ἱερο-
σολύμων ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα
Βααλεὶμ καὶ συνδιήγαγεν[10] αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον.

[1] E. δὲ ROMLV δ' SP
[2] + εἰς Δάναν ROM. + εἰς Δανὰν SP. + εἰς Ἄδαναν LV
[3] Μοσφοθὰ RSP· Μοσφαθᾷ L
[4] Ἱεροσολύμων MSPLV Lat [5] καὶ secl. Niese.
[6] Ἰωάννης V ed. pr [7] Καρέου LV.
[8] Σερέας ROP Σαραίας L· Zareas Lat.
[9] Iezonias Lat [10] συνδιῆγεν LV

[a] According to Scripture (Jer. xl. 5) Nebuzaradan himself provides Jeremiah with food.

[b] The variant which (after "remained") adds "to Dana" is obviously corrupt, it seems to be derived from the LXX reading of Ramah in Jer. xl. 1, *cf.* § 156 note *f*

need,[a] and, having presented him with valuable gifts, he let him go And so Jeremiah remained in the country,[b] in a city called Masphatha,[c] and urged Nabūzardanēs to release, at the same time as himself, his disciple Baruch, the son of Nēros,[d] who came of a very distinguished family and was exceptionally well instructed in his native tongue [e]

(2) Then Nabūzardanēs, having disposed of these matters, set out for Babylon But, when those who had fled from Jerusalem while it was being besieged and had scattered throughout the country heard that the Babylonians had withdrawn, leaving behind some few survivors in the country round Jerusalem and some people to cultivate this land, they gathered together from all parts and came to Gadalias at Masphatha Their leaders were Jōadēs,[f] the son of Karias,[g] and Sareas [h] and Jōazanias [i] and some others in addition to these, while there was one from the royal family, a certain Ismaēlos,[j] a wicked and very crafty man, who had fled from Jerusalem during the siege to Baaleim,[k] the king of the Ammanites, and had stayed with him during all that time. Accord-

The Jewish fugitives come to Gedaliah at Mizpah (Masphatha) 2 Ki xxv 23, Jer xl 7 (LXX xlvii 7)

[c] Bibl Mizpah (*Mispāh*), LXX Μασσηφά, *cf Ant* vi. 22 note *a*.

[d] Bibl Neraiah, LXX Νηρίας, *v l* Νηρείας

[e] Nothing is said in Scripture about Jeremiah's plea for the release of Baruch The other details are also unscriptural.

[f] The name appears as Jōannēs in § 164, bibl. Johanan (*Yôḥānān*), LXX Ἰωανάν, *v ll.* Ἰωνάν, Ἰωνά

[g] Bibl Kareah (*Qārēaḥ*), LXX Καρήθ, *v.l.* Καρῆε

[h] Bibl. Seraiah (*Śerāyāh*), LXX Σαραίας, *v.l.* Σαραιά

[i] Bibl. Jezaniah (*Yezanyāhû, Ya'azanyāhû*), LXX Ἰεζονίας, *v.l.* Ὀζονίας, Luc. Ἰεζωνίας.

[j] Bibl. Ishmael (*Yišmā'ēl*), LXX Ἰσμαήλ

[k] Bibl. Baalis (undoubtedly corrupt for Baalim), LXX Βελεισά He is called Baalimos below, § 164.

161 τούτους τοίνυν γενομένους αὐτοῦ Γαδαλίας ἔπεισε μένειν αὐτίκα μηδὲν δεδιότας τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· γεωργοῦντας γὰρ τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν ταῦτα ὀμνὺς αὐτοῖς διεβεβαιοῦτο καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγων, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίη τεύξεσθαι
162 τῆς προθυμίας καὶ συνεβούλευε κατοικεῖν εἰς ἣν ἕκαστος βούλεται πόλιν ἀποστέλλειν τε[1] μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἀνακτίζειν τὰ ἐδάφη καὶ κατοικεῖν προεῖπέ τε παρασκευάζεσθαι αὐτούς, ἕως ἔτι καιρός ἐστι, σῖτον[2] καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ὅπως ἔχωσι διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τρέφεσθαι ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσε[3] τῆς χώρας εἰς ὃν ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο τόπον

163 (3) Διαδραμούσης δὲ φήμης εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔθνη, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς παρ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Γαδαλίας ἐδέξατο φιλανθρώπως καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς γεωργοῦσι κατοικεῖν ἐφῆκεν, ἐφ᾿ ᾧ τελεῖν[4] φόρον τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ, συνέδραμον αὐτοὶ[5] πρὸς τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατῴκησαν.
164 κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν[6] καὶ τὴν τοῦ Γαδαλίου χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνες ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτὸν καὶ Βαάλιμον

[1] ἀποστέλλειν τε SLV ἀποστελεῖν τε P ἀποστέλλοντα R: ἀποστέλλοντος O ἀποστέλλων M: et ut mitteret Lat
[2] + τε SP
[3] + διὰ ROM· + διάγειν SP: + διάγειν διὰ LVE
[4] Niese: τελέσειν ROMSPE. τελέσωσι L: τελέσουσι V
[5] καὶ αὐτοὶ MSP: omnes Lat
[6] χάριν conj. Naber post χώραν lacunam statuit Niese: provinciam in pace regi add Lat

[a] Text slightly uncertain. The detail (sending others) is unscriptural.

ingly, when they arrived there, Gadalias persuaded them to remain there for the present without any fear of the Babylonians, for, he said, if they worked the land they would suffer no harm. These assurances he confirmed by giving them his oath and telling them that they should have him as their protector, so that, if anyone molested them, they would find him ready to help. And he advised them to settle down in the cities, each wherever he chose, and to send others[a] along with their own men and rebuild on the foundations and live there; he also warned them, while there was still time, to prepare stores of grain, wine and oil in order to have food throughout the winter. Having spoken to them in this manner, he dismissed them, each to whatever place in the country he chose.

(3) Now, when a rumour was spread among the nations round Judaea that Gadalias had received with friendliness those of the fugitives who came to him, and had permitted them to settle down and work the land on condition of paying tribute to the Babylonian king, they[b] too came together to Gadalias and settled on the land. And, when they observed (the nature of) the land[c] and the kindness and friendliness of Gadalias, Jōannēs[d] and the leaders with him came to feel a very great affection for him[e] and

Ishmael's plot against Gedaliah
Jer. xl 11 (LXX xlvii 11)

[b] Josephus's language is decidedly careless; by "they" he means the Jewish fugitives among the surrounding nations, not these nations themselves.

[c] Text uncertain; Lat. renders "observed that the land was ruled in peace." For χώραν "land" Naber conjectures χάριν "graciousness" (of Gedaliah).

[d] Bibl. Johanan; he is called Jōadēs above, § 160; *cf.* note *ad loc.*

[e] Unscriptural detail.

τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα ἔλεγον πέμψαι[1] Ἰσμάηλον ἀποκτενοῦντα αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ κρυφίως, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸν
165 ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ῥύσεσθαί γε μὴν ἔλεγον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐφῇ κτεῖναι τὸν Ἰσμάηλον, ὡς οὐδενὸς γνωσομένου· δεδιέναι γὰρ ἔφασκον μὴ φονευθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου παντελὴς ἀπώλεια γένηται τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων τῆς
166 τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἰσχύος. ὁ δ' ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει κατ' ἀνδρὸς εὖ πεπονθότος ἐπιβουλὴν τοιαύτην ἐμφανίσασιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ τηλικαύτην ἐρημίαν ὧν ἔχρῃζε μὴ διαμαρτόντα οὕτως πονηρὸν εἰς τὸν εὐεργετήσαντα καὶ ἀνόσιον εὑρεθῆναι, ὥσθ' ᾧ[2] μὲν[3] ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενον σῶσαι σπουδάζειν,[4] αὐτὸν αὐτό-
167 χειρα ζητεῖν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ δεῖ δοκεῖν, ἄμεινον ἔφασκεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον, ἢ καταφυγόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πιστεύσαντα τὴν ἰδίαν σωτηρίαν καὶ παρακαταθέμενον αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι.

168 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μὴ δυνηθέντες πεῖσαι τὸν Γαδαλίαν ἀπῆλθον. χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παραγίνεται πρὸς Γαδαλίαν εἰς Μασφαθὰν πόλιν Ἰσμάηλος μετ' ἀνδρῶν δέκα, οὓς λαμπρᾷ τραπέζῃ

1 E: πέμψειν ROMSP Lat: πέμπειν LV.
2 ὥσθ' ᾧ Hudson: ὡς τῷ ROSP ὃς τὸ LV: ὥσθ' ὃν Dindorf
3 LV: μὲν τὸ rell ἣν Dindorf.
4 + δὲ codd., om. Dindorf

[a] Bibl. Baalis, *cf.* § 160 note *k*.
[b] Baalis's motive is an unscriptural detail.

told him that Baalimos,[a] the king of the Ammanites, had sent Ismaēlos to kill him by treachery and in secret, in order that Ismaēlos might rule over the Israelites, for he was of the royal line.[b] They would, however, save him from the plot, they said, if he allowed them to kill Ismaēlos, as no one would know of it. For they were afraid, they declared, that, if he were murdered by Ismaēlos, it would mean the complete destruction of what remained of the Israelites' strength. But he confessed that he did not believe them when they accused a man who had been well treated of forming such a plot, for, he said, it was not likely that a man who had not wanted for anything in the midst of so great a scarcity should be found so base and ungrateful to his benefactor as to seek to kill him with his own hands when it would be a wicked thing in itself for Ismaēlos not to be anxious to save him if he were plotted against by others. In any case, he said, even if he must believe their words to be true, it was better for him to die by the hands of Ismaēlos than to put to death a man who had taken refuge with him and had entrusted his very life into his hands for safe keeping.[c]

Ishmael murders Gedaliah. Jer. xli. 1 (LXX xlviii. 1)

(4) And so Jōannēs and those of the leaders who were with him went away without being able to convince Gadalias. But, when a period of thirty days had elapsed,[d] Ismaēlos came with ten men to Gadalias at the city of Masphatha, where he enter-

[c] In the preceding passage Josephus greatly amplifies the brief statement of Gedaliah in Scripture, "Thou shalt not do this thing; for thou speakest falsely of Ishmael."

[d] Bibl. "in the 7th month." The medieval Jewish commentator Kimchi, like Josephus, takes this to mean a month after Gedaliah's statement to Johanan, although Scripture does not indicate how long the interval was.

καὶ ξενίοις ὑποδεξάμενος εἰς μέθην προήχθη, φιλοφρονούμενος τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
169 θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ βεβαπτισμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὕπνον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, ὁ Ἰσμάηλος ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν δέκα φίλων ἀποσφάττει τὸν Γαδαλίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατακειμένους ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν ἐξελθὼν νυκτὸς ἅπαντας φονεύει τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
170 καταλειφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ μετὰ δώρων ἧκον πρὸς Γαδαλίαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὀγδοήκοντα, μηδενὸς τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγνωκότος. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἰσμάηλος εἴσω τε αὐτοὺς[1] καλεῖ ὡς πρὸς[2] Γαδαλίαν, καὶ παρελθόντων ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὐλὴν[3] ἐφόνευσε καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς λάκκον τινὰ βαθύν, ὡς ἂν ἀφανῆ γένοιτο,
171 κατεπόντισε διεσώθησαν δὲ τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τούτων ἀνδρῶν οἳ μὴ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι παρεκάλεσαν πρὶν ἢ τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς αὐτῷ παραδῶσιν[4] ἔπιπλά τε καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ σῖτον ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἐφείσατο τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων Ἰσμάηλος
172 τὸν δ' ἐν τῇ Μασφαθᾷ λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις ᾐχμαλώτισεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαχχίου

[1] αὐτοὺς om LVE.
[2] ὡς πρὸς ex Lat. Niese πρὸς codd. E.
[3] αὔλιον E: αὔλειον Niese
[4] παραδώσειν ROSPL

[a] Scripture says nothing of a splendid banquet or the intoxication of Gedaliah; *cf.* Jer. xli 1-2, " . . . they ate bread together in Mizpah. Then arose Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, and the ten that were with him and smote Gedaliah " etc

[b] Josephus omits the scriptural detail that they were in

tained them with a splendid banquet and presents and, in his cordial reception of Ismaelos and those with him, went so far as to become drunk. Seeing him in this condition, sunken into unconsciousness and a drunken sleep, Ismaelos sprang up with his ten friends and slaughtered Gadalias and those reclining with him at the banquet table[a]; after slaying them, he went out by night and murdered all the Jews in the city and the soldiers who had been left there by the Babylonians. But on the following day eighty of the people of the country came with gifts for Gadalias, for no one of them knew what had happened to him.[b] And, when Ismaelos saw them, he invited them in as if[c] to see Gadalias; then, when they were inside, he closed the gates of the court[d] and murdered them and cast their bodies into the bottom of a deep pit, that they might not be seen.[e] But of these eighty men some[f] were saved by pleading that they might not be killed before they should deliver to him the implements and clothing and grain that were hidden in their fields.[g] When Ismaelos heard their plea, he spared these men. But the people in Masphatha he took captive with their wives and young children; among them were the daughters of King Sacchias himself, whom

mourning; moreover Scripture says that they brought gifts for the temple, not for Gedaliah.

[c] "as if" is supplied conjecturally.

[d] Lit. "closed off the court," but this implies closing the gates, as in the variant. Scripture says that he slew them "when they came into the midst of the city."

[e] Josephus omits the scriptural detail that this pit had been dug by Asa to prevent Baasha's invasion of Judah.

[f] 10, according to Scripture.

[g] Bibl. "treasures in the field, of wheat, barley, oil and honey."

θυγατέρας, ἃς Ναβουζαρδάνης ὁ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατηγὸς παρὰ Γαδαλίᾳ καταλελοίπει. ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα

173 (5) Ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνες τὰ ἐν τῇ[1] Μασφαθᾷ πεπραγμένα[2] ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου καὶ τὸν Γαδαλίου θάνατον ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἕκαστος παραλαβὼν ὁπλίτας ὥρμησαν πολεμήσοντες τὸν Ἰσμάηλον καὶ καταλαμ-

174 βάνουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ ἐν Ἰβρῶνι[3] οἱ δὲ αἰχμαλωτισθέντες ὑπὸ Ἰσμαήλου τὸν Ἰωάννην ἰδόντες καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εὐθύμως διετέθησαν, βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς[4] ἥκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν αἰχμαλωτίσαντα πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἀνεχώρησαν. Ἰσμάηλος μὲν οὖν μετ' ἀνδρῶν ὀκτὼ

175 φεύγει πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης παραλαβὼν οὓς ἀνέσωσεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαήλου χειρῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ νήπια εἴς τινα τόπον Μάνδρα[5] λεγόμενον παραγίνεται καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐπέμεινεν[6] αὐτόθι, διεγνώκεισαν δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, φοβούμενοι μὴ κτείνωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι μείναντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὑπὲρ Γαδαλία τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνος ὀργισθέντες πεφονευμένου.

176 (6) Ὄντων δ' ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς βουλῆς προσίασιν Ἱερεμίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Καρίου καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντες δεηθῆναι

[1] τὰ ἐν τῇ om. ROE [2] τὰ πεπραγμένα ROSP
[3] Χεβρῶνι SPLV: Νεβρῶνι E Cebron Lat Γιβρῶνι conj Thackeray, cf Ant. VIII. 22
[4] Niese: αὐτοῖς codd
[5] Μάνδραν LVE: caulas Lat. [6] ὑπέμεινεν SP.

Nabūzardanēs, the Babylonian general, had left with Gadalias Having carried out these crimes, he came to the king of the Ammanites

Johanan (Joannes) rescues the captives taken by Ishmael. Jer xli. 11 (LXX xlviii 1)

(5) When Jōannēs and the leaders with him heard of the things done at Masphatha by Ismaēlos and of the death of Gadalias, they were very indignant and, each taking his own soldiers, they set out to make war on Ismaēlos, and came upon him at the spring in Ibrōn [a] But, when those who had been taken captive by Ismaēlos saw Jōannēs and the leaders, they were filled with joy at the thought that they had come to help them and, deserting their captor, they went over to Jōannēs And so Ismaēlos fled with eight men to the king of the Ammanites. But Jōannēs took those whom he had saved from Ismaēlos's hands and the eunuchs and women and young children, and came to a certain place called Mandra [b] And there he remained for that day until they decided to depart from there and go to Egypt, fearing that the Babylonians might kill them, if they remained in the country, in their wrath over the murder of Gadalias who had been appointed by them as governor

Johanan forces Jeremiah to go with him

(6) While they were considering this plan, Jōannēs, the son of Karias, and the leaders with him approached the prophet Jeremiah and urged him to

[a] Variant Chebrōn ; bibl. Gibeon, LXX Γαβαών. A similar slip of Ibrōn or Chebrōn (=bibl Hebron) for Gabaōn (=bibl. Gibeōn) occurs in *Ant.* viii 22

[b] The name means "cattle-pen." Dr. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man*, etc., p. 89 note, suggests that Josephus read *Gidᵉrōth Kimham* "cattle-pens of Kimham" in the Heb. of Jer. xli 17 where our Masoretic text reads "*Gerôth Kimham* (Targum and A.V "habitation of Kimham") near Bethlehem", LXX transliterates the Heb. name as Γαβαρωχαμαά. *v.l.* γῇ Βηρωθχαμάαμ.

τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἀμηχανοῦσιν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ὑποδείξῃ, ὀμόσαντες ποιήσειν
177 ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς Ἱερεμίας εἴπῃ ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ προφήτου διακονήσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συνέβη μετὰ δέκα ἡμέρας αὐτῷ φανέντα τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν δηλῶσαι Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῷ λαῷ παντὶ ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ παρέσται καὶ πρόνοιαν ἕξει καὶ τηρήσει παρὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὓς δεδίασιν ἀπαθεῖς, πορευομένους δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπολείψει[1] καὶ ταὐτὰ[2] διαθήσει[3] ὀργισθείς, " ἃ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν[4]
178 ἔμπροσθεν οἴδατε πεπονθότας[5] "[a] ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς προλέγειν ὁ προφήτης οὐκ ἐπιστεύετο, ὡς κατ' ἐντολὴν τὴν ἐκείνου μένειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κελεύει, χαριζόμενον δὲ Βαρούχῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ μαθητῇ καταψεύδεσθαι μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ, πείθειν δὲ μένειν αὐτόθι, ὡς ἂν
179 ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων διαφθαρῶσι παρακούσας οὖν ὅ τε λαὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλίας,[6] ἣν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου παρῄνεσεν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἄγων καὶ τὸν Ἱερεμίαν καὶ τὸν Βαροῦχον

180 (7) Γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον τῷ προφήτῃ μέλλοντα στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ προειπεῖν ἐκέλευε[7] τῷ λαῷ τήν τε ἅλωσιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ

[1] P²: ἀπολήψειν R: ἀπολείψειν rell Lat
[2] Niese: ταῦτα codd. Lat
[3] P²: διαθήσειν rell Lat
[4] Niese: αὐτῶν codd. E Lat.
[5] παθόντας SPLV. [6] συμμαχίας SP. [7] ἐκέλευσε LVE.

[a] This last clause is apparently based on Jer. xlii. 18, " . . . as mine anger and my fury have been poured forth

entreat God to reveal to them what they should do, for they were unable to decide this, and they swore that they would do whatever Jeremiah told them. The prophet thereupon promised to use his good offices with God on their behalf, and after ten days it happened that God appeared to him and told him to announce to Jōannēs and the other leaders and all the people that if they remained in that country He would be with them and take care of them and preserve them unharmed from the hands of the Babylonians whom they feared; but, if they set out for Egypt, He would abandon them and in His anger visit upon them the same treatment "which, as you know, your brothers suffered before you."[a] These things, said the prophet to Jōannēs and the people, God foretold to them; however they did not believe that it was at God's command that he bade them remain in the country but that to please Baruch, his own disciple, he was belying God and trying to persuade them to remain there in order that they might be destroyed by the Babylonians. And so the people and Jōannēs disregarded the counsel[b] of God, which He had given them through the prophet, and departed for Egypt, taking both Jeremiah and Baruch.

to Egypt. Jer. xlii. 1 (LXX xlix. 1)

Jer. xliii. 1 (LXX l. 1)

(7) But, when they came there,[c] the Deity revealed to the prophet that the king of Babylonia was about to march against the Egyptians, and He bade the prophet foretell to the people[d] that Egypt

Jeremiah prophesies Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt. Jer. xlii. 7 (LXX xlix. 7)

upon the habitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you,' etc.

[b] Variant "alliance."

[c] To the city of Tahpanhes, according to Scripture.

[d] Josephus omits the symbolism of the stones which God commands Jeremiah to hide, Jer. xliii. 9 ff.

ὅτι τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους
181 λαβὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἄξει. καὶ ταῦτα συνέβη τῷ γὰρ πέμπτῳ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πορθήσεως ἔτει, ὅ ἐστι τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας, στρατεύει Ναβουχοδονόσορος[1] ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτήν, ἐπολέμησε
182 καὶ Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις[2] ποιησάμενος δὲ ὑπήκοα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστρεψόμενος αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν τότε βασιλέα κτείνει, καταστήσας δὲ ἕτερον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν Ἰουδαίους αἰχμαλωτίσας ἤγαγεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.
183 καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος ἐν τοιούτῳ τέλει γενόμενον παρειλήφαμεν δὶς ἐλθὸν[3] πέραν Εὐφράτου· ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν λαὸς ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν[4] Ὠσήου, ἔπειτα ὁ τῶν[5] δύο φυλῶν ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως, ὃς
184 ὑπελείφθη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἁλόντων. Σαλμανάσσης[6] μὲν οὖν ἀναστήσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας κατῴκισεν ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος, οἳ πρότερον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἦσαν, τότε μέντοι Σαμαρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν τὴν τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν κατῳκίσθησαν προσηγορίαν ἀναλαβόντες· ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς τὰς δύο

[1] Ναβουχοδονόσορος om SP ὁ αὐτὸς V

[2] Μωαβίταις καὶ Ἀμμανίταις RO· Μωαβίτας καὶ Ἀμμανίτας (Ἀμμ κ Μωαβ transp LVE Latin Zonaras) rell E Lat. Zonaras

[3] δὶς ἐλθὸν] διελθὼν ME· εἰσελθὼν δὲ RO· transisse Lat.· μετενεχθὲν Zonaras.

[4] αὐτῶν om Hudson.

[5] ὁ τῶν Cocceji τῶν codd.

[6] ex Lat. (Salamanassis) Niese: Σαλμανασάρης ROMPVE: Σαλμαι ασσάρης SL.

would be taken and that the Babylonian king would kill some of them and would take the rest captive and carry them off to Babylon And so it happened; for in the fifth year after the sacking of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar marched against Coele-Syria and, after occupying it, made war both on the Moabites and the Ammanites. Then, after making these nations subject to him, he invaded Egypt in order to subdue it, and, having killed the king who was then reigning and appointed another, he again took captive the Jews who were in the country and carried them to Babylon[a] And so, as we have learned from history, the Hebrew race twice came to such a pass as to go beyond the Euphrates. For the people of the ten tribes were driven out of Samaria by the Assyrians in the reign of Osēēs, and, once again, the people of the two tribes who survived the capture of Jerusalem were driven out by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea Now, when Salmanassēs[b] removed the Israelites, he settled in their place the nation of Chuthaeans, who had formerly lived in the interior of Persia and Media and who were then, moreover, called Samaritans because they assumed the name of the country in which they were settled[c] But the king of

Cf. Jer. lii. 30

The two great deportations of Israel and Judah

[a] According to Scripture it was Nebuzaradan who carried off the last group of captives in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign Josephus's statement about the conquest of the Moabites and Ammonites is based on the prophecies of Jeremiah, cc. xliv-xlix (LXX li, xxvi-xxx). For Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt he probably used Berosus as a source, *cf.* §§ 220 ff.

[b] Conjectured form; MSS. Salmanas(s)arēs; bibl Shalmaneser; *cf. Ant* ix. 259 note *i*.

[c] *Cf. Ant.* ix. 288 ff.

φυλὰς ἐξαγαγὼν οὐδὲν ἔθνος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατῴκισε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρημος ἡ Ἰουδαία πᾶσα καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς[1] διέμεινεν ἔτεσιν
185 ἑβδομήκοντα. τὸν δὲ σύμπαντα χρόνον, ὃς[2] ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀνάστασιν διεληλύθει,[3] ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας συνέβη γενέσθαι

186 (x. 1) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους λαβὼν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδας καὶ τοὺς Σαχχίου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν συγγενεῖς, οἳ καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς εὐμορφίαις τῶν ὄψεων ἦσαν περίβλεπτοι, παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτῶν θεραπείᾳ παρα-
187 δίδωσι, ποιήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκτομίας· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν[4] ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσα κατεστρέψατο ληφθέντας ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡλικίας διαθείς, ἐχορήγει μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ εἰς δίαιταν, ἐπαίδευε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐξεδίδασκε γράμματα· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι σοφίαν ἱκανοὶ

[1] λαὸς ROMSP [2] ὅσος SP.
[3] Niese: ἐληλύθει codd E
[4] ἐκ τῶν om ROM ἐκ om. SP

[a] Whether we reckon the lower limit of this interval as the deportation in the 11th year of Zedekiah's reign (§ 135) or that which took place 5 years later (§ 181) the chronology is inconsistent with that implied earlier (*cf.* § 143 note *b*). According to *Ant.* ix. 278 the Israelite deportation took place in the 7th year of Hezekiah. The sum of regnal years for the rest of Hezekiah's reign and those of his successors is 132 years 6 months 20 days. There is thus a discrepancy of about 2 years (or 7 years if we take the last deportation, mentioned in § 181, as the lower limit). For various

Babylonia, when he carried off the two tribes, did not settle any nation in their place, and for this reason all of Judaea and Jerusalem and the temple remained deserted for seventy years Now the entire interval of time from the captivity of the Israelites until the deportation of the two tribes amounted to one hundred and thirty years, six months and ten days [a]

(x. 1) Then Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king, took the Jewish youths of noblest birth and the relatives of their king Sacchias [b] who were remarkable for the vigour of their bodies and the comeliness of their features, and gave them over to tutors to be cared for by them, making some of them eunuchs [c]; this same treatment he also gave to those taken in the flower of their age from among the other nations which he had subdued. And he supplied them with food from his own table and had them educated and taught the learning of both the natives and the Chaldaeans.[d] And these youths

Daniel and his companions at Nebuchadnezzar's court. Dan. i. 3.

theories as to the source of Josephus's chronology here see Weill's note *ad loc* (which is not very helpful) It may be added that according to modern reckoning the interval between the two great deportations is about 135 years (722/1–587/6 B.C.).

[b] Bibl " certain of the Israelites of the king's seed "

[c] Josephus, like the rabbis (*cf.* Ginzberg vi. 415), bases this statement (not found in the book of Daniel) on the prophecy of Isaiah xxxix. 7 = 2 Kings xx. 18 (*cf.* § 33). Rabbinic tradition adds that Daniel and his companions mutilated themselves to prove their chastity in the face of false charges brought against them by enemies.

[d] Josephus here uses " Chaldaeans " not as an ethnic name but as the name of a class of wise men Weill, however, renders " the native traditions and the Chaldaean literature." Scripture has " the learning (lit. " book ") and language of the Chaldaeans."

188 περὶ ἣν ἐκέλευε διατρίβειν. ἦσαν δ' ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαχχίου γένους τέσσαρες καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς φύσεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν Δανίηλος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀνανίας, ὁ δὲ Μισάηλος, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀζαρίας· τούτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος μετωνόμασε καὶ
189 χρῆσθαι προσέταξεν ἑτέροις ὀνόμασι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Δανίηλον ἐκάλουν Βαλτάσαρον, τὸν δ' Ἀνανίαν Σεδράχην, Μισάηλον δὲ Μισάχην,[1] τὸν δ' Ἀζαρίαν Ἀβδεναγώ. τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐφυΐας καὶ σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν παίδευσιν τῶν γραμμάτων[2] καὶ σοφίας ἐν προκοπῇ γενομένους εἶχεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ στέργων διετέλει.

190 (2) Δόξαν δὲ Δανιήλῳ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν σκληραγωγεῖν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐδεσμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθόλου πάντων τῶν ἐμψύχων, προσελθὼν Ἀσχάνῃ τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένῳ[3] εὐνούχῳ, τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς κομιζόμενα παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκειν λαμβάνοντα, παρέχειν δ' αὐτοῖς ὄσπρια καὶ φοίνικας εἰς διατροφὴν καὶ εἴ τι τῶν ἀψύχων ἕτερον βούλοιτο· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοι-

[1] Μίσαχιν M : Μίσαχον SP Exc. Μισάκην E.
[2] τῶν γραμμάτων om. RO.
[3] ἐπιτετραμμένῳ LVE.

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[a] *Cf.* § 186 note *b*. According to some rabbis Daniel's companions were not of the royal line, *cf.* Ginzberg vi. 414. Of both Daniel and his companions Scripture here (Dan. i. 6) says that they were "of the sons of Judah."

[b] Gr. Danielos; Heb. *Dani'ēl*, LXX and Theod. Δανιήλ.

[c] So LXX and Theod.; bibl. Hananiah (*Ḥananyāh*).

[d] Bibl. Mishael, LXX Μισαήλ, Theod. Μεισαήλ.

[e] So LXX and Theod., bibl. Azariah (*'Azaryāh*).

[f] According to Scripture it was the chief eunuch who changed their names, but *cf.* Dan. iv. 8 (Aram. iv. 5) and § 212 note *d*.

became proficient in the wisdom which he had ordered them to study; among them were four of the family of Sacchias,[a] the first of whom was named Daniel,[b] the second Ananias,[c] the third, Misaēlos[d] and the fourth, Azarias.[e] But the Babylonian king changed their names and commanded them to use others.[f] And so they called Daniel Baltasaros,[g] Ananias Sedrachēs,[h] Misaēlos Misachēs,[i] and Azaraias Abdenagō.[j] And these youths, because of their surpassing natural gifts, their zeal in learning letters[k] and their wisdom, made great progress, wherefore the king held them in esteem and continued to cherish them.

(2) Now, as Daniel together with his relatives had resolved to live austerely and abstain from the dishes which came from the king's table and in general from all animal food,[l] he went to Aschanēs,[m] the eunuch who had been entrusted with their care,[n] and requested him to take the food brought to them from the king and consume it himself and give them pulse and dates for nourishment and whatever other kind of non-animal food he chose, for, he said, they

The Jewish youths observe their dietary laws. Dan. i. 8.

[g] Bibl. Belteshazzar, LXX and Theod. Βαλτασάρ.
[h] Bibl. Shadrach, LXX and Theod. Σεδράχ.
[i] Bibl. Meshach, LXX Μισάχ, Theod. Μεισάχ (v.l. Μισάκ).
[j] So LXX and Theod., bibl. Abed-nego.
[k] The variant omits "letters."
[l] Bibl. "the king's food and wine."
[m] Bibl. Ashpenaz, Theod. Ἀσφανέζ, LXX Ἀβιεσδρί.
[n] According to Scripture (vs. 10) Daniel seems to have made a preliminary request for a change of diet to the chief eunuch Ashpenaz, and then to have asked certain kinds of food of another officer appointed by the chief eunuch; this second officer is called in the Heb. *Melṣar*, which according to Jewish tradition means "steward" or the like. The Greek versions transliterate this as a proper name, as does A.V. (Melzar).

αὐτὴν δίαιταν αὐτοὺς κεκινῆσθαι, τῆς δ' ἑτέρας
191 περιφρονεῖν. ὁ δ' εἶναι μὲν ἕτοιμος ἔλεγεν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει, ὑφορᾶσθαι δὲ μὴ κατάδηλοι τῷ βασιλεῖ γενηθέντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἰσχνότητος καὶ τῆς τροπῆς τῶν χαρακτήρων (συμμεταβάλλειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς χρόας ἅμα τῇ διαίτῃ), καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παίδων εὐπαθούντων ἐλεγχθέντες, αἴτιοι
192 κινδύνου καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῷ καταστῶσιν. ἔχοντα τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτ' εὐλαβῶς τὸν Ἀσχάνην πείθουσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς πείρας ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ μεταβαλούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἕξεως ἐπιμένειν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι εἰς αὐτὴν βλαβησομένων, εἰ δὲ μειωθέντας ἴδοι καὶ κάκιον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν
193 αὐτοὺς δίαιταν ἀνάγειν[1] ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τὴν τροφὴν ἐκείνην προσφερομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐτραφέστεροι τὰ σώματα καὶ μείζονες ἐγίνοντο, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἐνδεεστέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν οἷς τὴν βασιλικὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι χορηγίαν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δανιήλου δοκεῖν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ τῇ πάσῃ βιοῦν, ἔκτοτε μετ' ἀδείας ὁ Ἀσχάνης ὅσα[2] μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καθ' ἡμέραν συνήθως ἔπεμπε τοῖς παισὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς
194 ἐλάμβανεν, ἐχορήγει δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ προειρημένα οἱ δὲ ὡς καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦτο καθαρῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν παιδείαν ἀκραιφνῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς φιλοπονίαν εὐτονωτέρων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνας ἐφείλκοντο[3] καὶ βαρείας εἶχον ὑπὸ

[1] ἀνάγειν ex Lat. Niese · ἄγειν codd.: διάγειν E.
[2] ἃ ROLVE.
[3] ἐφέλκοντο ROM · ἐλωβοῦντο LV.

were attracted to such a diet but felt distaste for any other[a] Aschanēs then said that he was ready to comply with their request but was somewhat afraid that they might be detected by the king through the leanness of their bodies and the alteration of their features—for, he said, their bodies and complexions would necessarily change with their diet—and they would be especially marked because of the healthy condition of the other youths and so would be the cause of his being placed in danger and punished. Accordingly, as Aschanēs was apprehensive about this matter, they persuaded him to give them these foods for ten days by way of trial and, if their bodily condition did not change, to continue in the same way, as no further harm would be likely to come to them, but, if he saw that they were growing thin and were weaker than the others, he should put them back on their former diet And not only did they not suffer from taking that kind of food but they were better nourished in body than the others, so that one supposed that those to whom the king's provisions were given were worse off, while Daniel and his friends were living in the greatest abundance and luxury; and so from that time on Aschanēs without any qualms took for himself[b] what the king regularly sent to the youths from his table day by day, and he supplied them with the foods mentioned above Thus these youths, whose souls were in this way kept pure and fresh for learning and their bodies more vigorous for arduous labour—for they did not oppress and weigh

They prosper on their diet. Dan. i. 15.

[a] Josephus here amplifies Scripture (*vs.* 12).
[b] Bibl. "took away."

τροφῆς[1] ποικίλης οὔτε ταῦτα μαλακώτερα διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν[2] αἰτίαν), πᾶσαν ἑτοίμως ἐξέμαθον παιδείαν, ἥτις ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις[3] καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. μάλιστα δὲ Δανίηλος ἱκανῶς ἤδη σοφίας ἐμπείρως ἔχων περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων ἐσπουδάκει καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ φανερὸν ἐγίνετο

195 (3) Μετὰ δ' ἔτος δεύτερον τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορθήσεως ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὄναρ ἰδὼν θαυμαστόν, οὗ τὴν ἔκβασιν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεός, τούτου μὲν ἐπιλανθάνεται διαναστὰς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς μάντεις, ὡς εἴη τι[4] ὄναρ ἑωρακὼς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὴν λήθην ὧν εἶδε μηνύων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὅ τι τε ἦν τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τί[5] τὸ σημεῖον.[6]
196 τῶν δὲ ἀδύνατον εἶναι λεγόντων ἀνθρώποις τοῦθ' εὑρεῖν, εἰ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔκθοιτο τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου φράσειν τὸ σημεῖον[7] ὑποσχομένων, θάνατον ἠπείλησεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὄναρ εἴποιεν, προσέταξε δὲ[8] πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι, ποιῆσαι τὸ κελευσθὲν
197 ὁμολογήσαντας μὴ δύνασθαι Δανίηλος δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι προσέταξε πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν

[1] τρυφῆς LV. [2] αὐτὴν om. O: ἐναντίαν conj. Niese.
[3] βαρβάροις LE Lat
[4] τε SPLVE Lat. (vid).
[5] τί om. RO· ὅτι E.
[6] τὸ σημεῖον codd. Exc.· quid significare videretur Lat.. τὸ σημαινόμενον Cocceji.
[7] σημαινόμενον Zonaras: explanationem Lat.
[8] τε E. et Lat.

down the former with a variety of food nor did they soften their bodies by the same means[a]—readily mastered all the learning which was found among the Hebrews[b] and the Chaldaeans. In particular Daniel, who had already acquired sufficient skill in wisdom, devoted himself to the interpretation of dreams, and the Deity manifested Himself to him.

(3) Two years after the sacking of Egypt[c] King Nebuchadnezzar had a wonderful dream, the outcome of which God Himself revealed to him in his sleep, but, when he arose from his bed, he forgot it; he therefore sent for the Chaldaeans and the Magi and the soothsayers and told them he had had a certain dream and, informing them how he had happened to forget it, bade them tell him both what the dream was and what its meaning might be. When they said that it was impossible for any man to discover this but promised that, if he would describe to them the appearance of the dream, they would tell him its meaning, he threatened them with death unless they told him what the dream was, and commanded that they should all be put to death when they confessed that they could not do as they were ordered. Now, when Daniel heard that the king had commanded all the wise men to be killed and that among

Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Dan ii 1

[a] The foregoing is an addition to Scripture.

[b] Variant "barbarians"; bibl. "God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning (Heb. "books") and wisdom."

[c] Bibl. "in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar." The medieval Jewish commentators, like Josephus, have noted the chronological difficulty in this scriptural statement (since the 2nd year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign long preceded the events described in the book of Daniel) and, by exegesis, have explained it to mean the 2nd year after the destruction of the temple.

συγγενῶν κινδυνεύειν, πρόσεισιν Ἀριόχῃ[1] τῷ τὴν
ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχὴν πε-
198 πιστευμένῳ. δεηθεὶς δὲ[2] παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν
μαθεῖν δι' ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας εἴη προστεταχὼς
ἀναιρεθῆναι τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ μάγους,
καὶ μαθὼν τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ὅτι κελευ-
σθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτ' αὐτῷ δηλοῦν
ἐπιλελησμένῳ, φήσαντες μὴ δύνασθαι παρώξυναν
αὐτόν, παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀριόχην εἰσελθόντα πρὸς
τὸν βασιλέα μίαν αἰτήσασθαι νύκτα τοῖς μάγοις
καὶ ταύτῃ[3] τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν· ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δι'
199 αὐτῆς δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον. ὁ
δὲ Ἀριόχης ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δανίηλον
ἀξιοῦν· καὶ ὁ μὲν κελεύει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν μάγων
ἐπισχεῖν ἕως γνῷ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τὴν Δανιήλου· ὁ
δὲ παῖς μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ὑποχωρήσας πρὸς
ἑαυτὸν δι' ὅλης ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν τῆς νυκτὸς
γνωρίσαι,[4] καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους,
οἷς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς συναπολέσθαι, ῥύσασθαι[5] τῆς τοῦ
βασιλέως ὀργῆς ἐμφανίσαντα τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ
ποιήσαντα δήλην ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπελέληστο διὰ τῆς
200 παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ἰδὼν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους. ὁ δὲ
θεὸς ἅμα τούς τε κινδυνεύοντας ἐλεήσας καὶ τὸν
Δανίηλον τῆς σοφίας ἀγασάμενος τό τε ὄναρ αὐτῷ
γνώριμον ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὸ
201 σημαινόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ μάθοι. Δανίη-

[1] Ἀριόχῳ MSP Exc. Ἀριώχῳ E: quendam Ariochim Lat.

[2] δεηθεὶς τε (sic) M Exc.: καὶ δεηθεὶς LV.

[3] καὶ ταύτῃ om. Lat., secl. Niese: καὶ ταύτην SLV Exc.

[4] σῶσαι MSP Exc.: ἐλεῆσαι E: ut ei somnium indicaret Lat.

[5] ῥύσασθαι LV: ῥύσασθαι δὲ rell. Exc. Lat.: καὶ ῥύσασθαι E.

them he and his relatives were in danger, he went to Ariochēs,[a] to whom was entrusted the command of the king's bodyguard, and asked him to let him know the reason why the king had commanded all the wise men and Chaldaeans and Magi to be put to death; and, on learning about the dream and how, when they were ordered to relate it to the king who had forgotten it, they had made him angry by saying that they were unable to do so, he requested Ariochēs to go in to the king[b] and ask him to give the Magi one night[c] and to put off their execution only so long,[d] for, he said, he hoped within that time to learn the dream by praying to God. Ariochēs, therefore, reported to the king this request of Daniel, and so he ordered the execution of the Magi to be put off until he should learn what Daniel had promised (to disclose).[e] Then the youth returned to his house with his relatives and throughout the whole night besought God to enlighten him[f] and to save the Magi and the Chaldaeans, together with whom they too must perish, from the king's wrath by revealing and making clear to him the vision which the king had seen in his sleep on the preceding[g] night and had forgotten. Thereupon God, taking pity on those who were in danger and at the same time admiring Daniel's wisdom,[h] made known to him both the dream and its interpretation so that the king too might learn from him what it signified. When

God reveals the dream to Daniel.
Dan ii. 17

[a] So LXX; bibl. Arioch (*'Aryōk*), Theod. Ἀριώχ.
[b] In Scripture Daniel himself goes to the king on learning the cause of his anger.
[c] Bibl. "give him time."
[d] Variant "and put off this execution."
[e] Unscriptural detail.
[f] Variants "save," "pity."
[g] Unscriptural detail, *cf.* note *c*.
[h] Unscriptural detail.

λος δὲ γνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα περιχαρὴς ἀνίσταται καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δηλώσας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπεγνωκότας ἤδη τοῦ ζῆν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεθνάναι τὴν
202 διάνοιαν ἔχοντας, εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου διήγειρεν ἐλπίδας,[a] εὐχαριστήσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔλεον λαβόντι τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν,[b] γενομένης ἡμέρας παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀριόχην καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἠξίου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· δηλῶσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὅ φησιν ἰδεῖν πρὸ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτός.
203 (4) Εἰσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δανίηλος παρῃτεῖτο πρῶτον μὴ σοφώτερον αὐτὸν δόξαι τῶν ἄλλων Χαλδαίων καὶ μάγων, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἐκείνων τὸ ὄναρ εὑρεῖν δυνηθέντος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ[1] μέλλοι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκπεπόνηται τοῦτο γίνεται,[2] "ἀλλ' ἐλεήσας ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κινδυνεύοντας ἀποθανεῖν, δεηθέντι περί τε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ[c] φανερὰν ἐποί-
204 ησεν.[3] οὐχ ἧττον γὰρ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καταδικασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ζῆν λύπης περὶ τῆς σῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐφρόντιζον, ἀδίκως οὕτως ἄνδρας καὶ ταῦτα καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀποθανεῖν κελεύσαντος, οἷς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας ἐχόμενον προσέταξας, ὃ δ' ἦν ἔργον[4] θεοῦ τοῦτο ἀπῄτεις παρ'
205 αὐτῶν. σοὶ τοίνυν φροντίζοντι περὶ τοῦ τίς ἄρξει τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς μετὰ σέ, κατακοιμηθέντι βου-

[1] αὐτὸ RLV. [2] γίνεσθαι LVE
[3] πεποίηκεν LVE [4] ἔργον om. ROME παρὰ Exc

[a] Daniel's encouragement of his companions is an addition to Scripture

[b] Josephus omits the contents of Daniel's prayer, *vss.* 20-23.

[c] Variant "it."

Daniel received this knowledge from God, he joyfully arose and told his brothers and, though they were already in despair of their lives and had their thoughts fixed on death, he aroused them to cheerfulness and to hope of life;[a] then together with them he gave thanks to God who had taken pity on their youth,[b] and, when day came, he went to Ariochēs and asked him to lead him to the king, for, he said, he wished to reveal to him the dream which he said he had had on the night before the preceding one.

(4) Then Daniel went in to the king and first begged that he might not be thought wiser than the others, that is, the Chaldaeans and Magi, merely because, while no one of them had been able to find out what his dream was, he was about to tell him[c]; for this was not due to his skill nor to his having through his own effort acquired a better understanding than they "but to God who took pity on us when we were in danger of death and, in answer to my prayer for my own life and the lives of my countrymen, has made clear to me both the dream and its interpretation. For no less than my sorrow for ourselves who had been condemned to death by you was my concern for your good name, seeing that you had unjustly ordered these men to be put to death, especially such fine and excellent men, on whom you had imposed a task which is by no means within the limits of human wisdom, and demanded of them something which only God can do.[d] Now then, when you were anxious about who should rule the whole world after you,[e] God wished

Daniel describes Nebuchadnezzar's dream Dan. ii. 25.

[d] Variant "which is of God" In the foregoing passage Josephus amplifies Scripture.

[e] Bibl "what should come to pass hereafter."

λόμενος δηλῶσαι πάντας ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσοντας
206 ὄναρ ἔδειξε τοιοῦτον· ἔδοξας ὁρᾶν ἀνδριάντα μέγαν
ἑστῶτα, οὗ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν συνέβαινεν εἶναι
χρυσῆν, τοὺς δὲ ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀργυ-
ροῦς, τὴν δὲ γαστέρα καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς χαλκέους,
207 κνήμας δὲ καὶ πόδας σιδηροῦς. ἔπειτα[1] λίθον
εἶδες[2] ἐξ ὄρους ἀπορραγέντα ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ ἀνδριάντι
καὶ τοῦτον καταβαλόντα συνθρύψαι[3] καὶ μηδὲν
αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁλόκληρον ἀφεῖναι, ὡς τὸν μὲν[4] χρυσὸν
καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον
ἀλεύρων λεπτότερον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνέμου
πνεύσαντος σφοδροτέρου ὑπὸ τῆς βίας ἁρπαγέντα
διασπαρῆναι, τὸν δὲ λίθον αὐξῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὡς
208 ἅπασαν δοκεῖν τὴν γῆν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπληρῶσθαι τὸ
μὲν οὖν ὄναρ, ὅπερ εἶδες, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ κρίσις
αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ κεφαλὴ
σέ τε ἐδήλου καὶ τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλέας Βαβυ-
λωνίους ὄντας· αἱ δὲ δύο[5] χεῖρες καὶ οἱ ὦμοι ση-
μαίνουσιν ὑπὸ δύο καταλυθήσεσθαι βασιλέων τὴν
209 ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῶν· τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἕτερός τις ἀπὸ τῆς
δύσεως καθαιρήσει χαλκὸν ἠμφιεσμένος, καὶ ταύτην
ἄλλη παύσει τὴν ἰσχὺν ὁμοία σιδήρῳ καὶ κρατήσει

[1] εἶτα ROM [2] εἶδες om ROM.
[3] συντρίψαι SPLV Exc Zonaras
[4] ὡς τὸν μὲν] τὸν δὲ SPLVE Exc [5] δύο om ROM.

[a] Bibl. "breast" (Aram. "breasts", LXX and Theod. στῆθος. Theod. adds "hands").
[b] Bibl. "its legs of iron, its feet partly iron and partly clay" (or "tile," *cf* J A Montgomery, *A Commentary on Daniel, ad loc*) On the alteration of Scripture *cf* § 209 note *a*
[c] *Cf.* Theod. ἀποσχίσθη (LXX ἐτμήθη) λίθος ἐξ ὄρους "a stone was severed from a mountain"; Aram. "a stone was severed without hands."

to reveal to you in your sleep all those who are to reign and sent you the following dream You seemed to see a great image standing up, of which the head was of gold, the shoulders [a] and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of bronze and the legs and feet of iron [b] Then you saw a stone break off from a mountain [c] and fall upon the image and overthrow it, breaking it to pieces and leaving not one part of it whole,[d] so that the gold and silver and bronze and iron were made finer than flour,[e] and, when the wind blew strongly, they were caught up by its force and scattered abroad; but the stone grew so much larger that the whole earth seemed to be filled with it. This, then, is the dream which you saw; as for its interpretation, it is as follows. The head of gold represents you and the Babylonian kings who were before you.[f] The two [g] hands and shoulders signify that your empire will be brought to an end by two kings [h] But their empire will be destroyed by another king from the west, clad in bronze,[i] and this power will be ended by still another, like iron, that will have dominion for ever through

Interpretation of the dream
Dan. ii 36.

[d] According to Scripture the stone first struck the image on the feet and broke them, after which the whole image was shattered.

[e] Aram and Theod. "like chaff (Theod "dust") of the summer threshing-floor"; LXX "lighter than chaff on the threshing-floor."

[f] The latter part of this sentence ("and the Babylonian kings," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

[g] The *variant omits* "two"

[h] Bibl. "another kingdom inferior to thee."

[i] Bibl. "a third kingdom of bronze which shall rule over all the earth." Josephus's addition "from the west" indicates that, like the rabbis, he identified the third kingdom with the empire of Alexander.

δὲ εἰς ἅπαντα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν". εἶναι
γὰρ αὐτὴν στερροτέραν τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ
210 ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ
λίθου Δανίηλος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε
τοῦτο ἱστορεῖν, τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα
συγγράφειν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ὀφείλοντι, εἰ δέ τις
τῆς ἀκριβείας[1] γλιχόμενος οὐ περιίσταται πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων τί γενήσεται
βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, σπουδασάτω τὸ βιβλίον ἀνα-
γνῶναι τὸ Δανιήλου· εὑρήσει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
γράμμασιν

211 (5) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀκηκοὼς[2]
ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ
Δανιήλου φύσιν, καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ᾧ τρόπῳ
τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτῳ τὸν Δανίηλον ἠσπά-
212 ζετο καὶ θύειν δὲ[3] ὡς θεῷ προσέταξεν, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἰδίου θεοῦ
θέμενος, ἁπάσης ἐπίτροπον τῆς βασιλείας ἐποίησε
καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ, οὓς ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ
βασκανίας εἰς κίνδυνον ἐμπεσεῖν συνέβη τῷ βασιλεῖ
213 προσκρούσαντας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς
κατασκευάσας χρύσεον ἀνδριάντα, πηχῶν τὸ μὲν
ὕψος ἑξήκοντα τὸ πλάτος δὲ ἕξ, στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν
τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος[4] πεδίῳ καὶ μέλλων

[1] ἀληθείας PLVE. [2] ἀκούσας LV(E)
[3] θύειν δὲ Exc θύσειν δεῖν RO· θύσειν δὴ SPL θύσειν δὲ V θύειν E.
[4] Βαβυλωνίας O Lat.

[a] Josephus has omitted the scriptural detail about the division of the fourth kingdom and its composition of iron

its iron nature," which, he said, is harder than that of gold or silver or bronze.[a] And Daniel also revealed to the king the meaning of the stone, but I have not thought it proper to relate this, since I am expected to write of what is past and done and not of what is to be; if, however, there is anyone who has so keen a desire for exact information[b] that he will not stop short of inquiring more closely but wishes to learn about the hidden things that are to come, let him take the trouble to read the Book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.[c]

Daniel's companions are miraculously saved from the fire.

Dan. ii. 46

(5) When King Nebuchadnezzar had heard these things and recognized his dream, he was amazed at Daniel's natural gifts and, falling on his face, hailed him in the manner in which men worship God. He also commanded that they should sacrifice to him as to a god, and not only that, but he even gave him the name of his own god[d] and made him and his relatives governors of the kingdom; but these, as it happened, fell into great danger from envy and jealousy when they offended the king for the following reason. The king had an image made of gold, sixty cubits high and six broad, and set it up in the great plain of Babylon; and, when ready to consecrate

Dan. iii. 1.

and clay (*cf.* § 206 note *b*), probably because, like the rabbis, he identified it with Rome and did not wish to offend Roman readers; *cf.* next note but one.

[b] Variant "truth."

[c] Josephus's evasiveness about the meaning of the stone which destroyed the kingdom of iron (*vs.* 44 f.) is due to the fact that the Jewish interpretation of it current in his day took it as a symbol of the Messiah or Messianic kingdom which would make an end of the Roman empire.

[d] *i.e.* Belteshazzar, *cf.* Dan. iv. 8 (Aram. iv. 5). Josephus forgets that he has already written (in § 189) that Nebuchadnezzar changed Daniel's name to Belteshazzar.

καθιεροῦν αὐτὸν συνεκάλεσεν ἐξ ἁπάσης ἧς ἦρχε γῆς τοὺς πρώτους, πρῶτον αὐτοῖς προστάξας, ὅταν σημαινούσης ἀκούσωσι τῆς σάλπιγγος, τότε πεσόντας προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντας ἠπείλησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐμβληθή-
214 *σεσθαι κάμινον πάντων οὖν μετὰ τὸ σημαινούσης ἐπακοῦσαι τῆς σάλπιγγος προσκυνούντων τὸν ἀνδριάντα, τοὺς Δανιήλου συγγενεῖς οὐ ποιῆσαι τοῦτό φασι μὴ βουληθέντας παραβῆναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλεγχθέντες εὐθὺς*[1] *εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβληθέντες θείᾳ σώζονται προνοίᾳ καὶ παραδόξως*
215 *διαφεύγουσι τὸν θάνατον. οὐ γὰρ ἥψατο τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν*[2] *ἀλλὰ κατὰ λογισμὸν οἶμαι τῷ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας εἰς αὐτὸ βληθῆναι οὐχ ἥψατο, καίειν δ' ἀσθενὲς ἦν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς παῖδας, τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ὥστε μὴ δαπανηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς παρασκευάσαντος.*[3] *τοῦτο συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δικαίους καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα πάσης ἀξιούμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς διετέλουν*
216 (6) *Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ πάλιν ὁρᾷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄψιν ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ θηρίων ἕξει τὴν δίαιταν καὶ διαζήσας οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ αὖθις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολήψεται τοῦτο θεασάμενος τοὔναρ πάλιν τοὺς μάγους συγκαλέσας ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς περὶ*

[1] *εὐθέως* SPLVE [2] *οὐ γὰρ* . . . *αὐτῶν* om. ROM.
[3] *κατασκευάσαντος* cum E Hudson, Naber

[a] Josephus omits the other musical instruments mentioned in Scripture

[b] The variant omits " for the fire did not touch them "

[c] Josephus here considerably abridges Scripture. It is

it, he summoned the chief men from all the lands over which he ruled, having first commanded that at the moment when they heard the trumpet sound[a] they should fall down and worship the image, and those who would not do so he threatened to have thrown into a fiery furnace. Accordingly all who heard the trumpet sound worshipped the image, but it is said the relatives of Daniel did not do so because they were unwilling to transgress their fathers' laws. And so they were convicted and straightway thrown into the fire, but were saved by divine providence and miraculously escaped death, for the fire did not touch them[b]; and indeed it was, I believe, in consideration of their being thrown into it without having done any wrong that it did not touch them, and it was powerless to burn the youths when it held them, for God made their bodies too strong to be consumed by the fire. This proved to the king that they were righteous and dear to God, and so they continued thereafter to be held worthy by him of the highest honour.[c]

(6) A little while afterward the king again had another vision in his sleep, which was that he would fall from power and make his home with beasts[d] and, after living in this way in the wilderness for seven years,[e] would again recover his royal power. After beholding this dream, he again summoned the Magi and inquired of them about it and asked them

Nebuchadnezzar's second dream. Dan iv. 4 (Aram., LXX iv. 1).

noteworthy that he does not refer to the "Prayer of the Three Youths" found in the Greek versions and included in the Apocrypha.

[d] Josephus greatly condenses the scriptural account of the dream.

[e] So LXX; Aram and Theod. "seven times" (or "seasons").

217 *αὐτοῦ καὶ τί σημαίνοι λέγειν ἠξίου. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐθεὶς ἠδυνήθη τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διάνοιαν εὑρεῖν οὐδ' ἐμφανίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, Δανίηλος δὲ μόνος καὶ τοῦτ' ἔκρινε καὶ καθὼς οὗτος αὐτῷ προεῖπεν ἀπέβη διατρίψας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον οὐδενὸς τολμήσαντος ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι παρὰ τὴν ἑπταετίαν, δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν*
218 *ἐπανέρχεται. ἐγκαλέσῃ δέ μοι μηδεὶς οὕτως ἕκαστα τούτων ἀπαγγέλλοντι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὑρίσκω βιβλίοις καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱστορίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιζητήσοντάς τι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ μεμψομένους ἠσφαλισάμην, μόνον τε μεταφράζειν τὰς Ἑβραίων βίβλους εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν καὶ ταῦτα δηλώσειν μήτε προστιθεὶς τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ*[1] *μήτ' ἀφαιρῶν*[2] *ὑπεσχημένος.*

219 (xi. 1) *Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἔτη τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀνὴρ δραστήριος καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐτυχέστερος γενόμενος. μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων καὶ Βηρωσὸς*[3] *ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Χαλδαικῶν*
220 *ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως "ἀκούσας δ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος*[4] *ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συριαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ ὄντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ τῆς*

[1] *ἴδια* SPL: *ἴδιον* V.
[2] Niese: *ἀφαιρεῖν* codd.
[3] *Βηρωσσὸς* RP²VE².
[4] *Ναβοπαλάσαρος* ex cont. Apion., Eusebio conj Niese: *Ναβουχοδονόσορος* ROLV · *Ναβουχαδανάσαρος* (-*άσσαρος* P) SP.

to tell him what it signified. Now none of the others could discover the import of the dream or make it known to the king, but Daniel alone interpreted it, and as he foretold to him so it came to pass. For the king spent the forementioned period of time in the wilderness, none venturing to seize the government during these seven years, and, after praying to God that he might recover his kingdom, he was again restored to it. But let no one reproach me for recording in my work each of these events as I have found them in the ancient books, for at the very beginning of my History I safeguarded myself against those who might find something wanting in my narrative or find fault with it, and said that I was only translating the books of the Hebrews into the Greek tongue, promising to report their contents without adding anything of my own to the narrative or omitting anything therefrom.

(xi. 1) Now King Nebuchadnezzar's life came to an end after a reign of forty-three years [a]; he was a man of bold action and more fortunate than the kings before him. His deeds are also mentioned by Berosus in the third book of his *History of Chaldaea*, where he writes as follows. "When his father Nabopalasaros [b] heard that the satrap appointed over Egypt and the districts of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia had revolted from him, being no longer himself able to endure hardships, he placed a part of his force at the disposal of his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was in his prime, and sent him out against this

Death of Nebuchadnezzar, account of him by Berosus. *Cf. Ap.* i. 134 ff.

[a] *Cf. Ap.* i. 146. He reigned from 604 to 562 B.C. The rabbinic reckoning varies between 40 and 45 years, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 339, vi. 430.

[b] Conjectured form (*cf. Ap.* and below, § 221); MSS. Nabūchodonosoros, etc.

221 δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ᾿ αὐτόν συμμίξας δὲ Να-
βουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος
αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε[1] καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς
ἀρχῆς[2] ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ[3] βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ
τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλασάρῳ[4] συνέβη κατ᾿ αὐτὸν
τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει
μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντι εἴκοσι καὶ ἕν.[5]
222 αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ᾿ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
τελευτὴν Ναβουχοδονόσορος[6] καὶ καταστήσας τὰ
κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
χώραν, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοι-
νίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατ᾿ Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν
συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνά-
μεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν
Βαβυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς διὰ τῆς
223 ἐρήμου παραγίνεται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. παραλαβὼν[7]
δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ
διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου
αὐτῶν, κυριεύσας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς
τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξε
κατοικίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας
224 τόποις ἀποδεῖξαι,[8] αὐτὸς δ᾿ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
λαφύρων τό τε τοῦ Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως, τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
πόλιν ἀνακαινίσας[9] καὶ ἑτέρᾳ[10] κατοχυρώσας[11] πρὸς[12]

[1] ἐκράτει Syncellus: ἐκυρίευσε cont. Apion., Eusebius
[2] ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς] ἐξ ἀρχῆς cont. Apion., Eusebii Chron.: ἐξαῦθις Eusebii Praep. Ev.: ἐξ αὐτῆς Gutschmid.
[3] Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.: αὐτῶν cont. Apion., Syncellus.
[4] cf. annot. 4, p. 278.
[5] εἴκοσι καὶ ἕν] εἰκοσιεννέα cont. Apion.
[6] ex Lat., cont. Apion. conj. Naber: Ναβουχοδονοσόρου (-σαρου RO) ROLV: Ναβουχαδανασσάρου SP.

satrap. Then Nebuchadnezzar engaged the rebel, defeated him in a pitched battle and brought the country which was under the other's rule into his own realm. As it happened, his father Nabopalasaros fell ill at about this time in the city of Babylon and departed this life after reigning twenty-one [a] years. Being informed, not long after, of his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries and also gave orders to some of his friends to conduct to Babylon the captives taken among the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians and peoples of Egypt with the bulk of his force and the rest of the booty, while he himself set out with a few men and reached Babylon through the desert There he found the government administered by the Chaldaeans and the throne preserved for him by the ablest man [b] among them , and, on becoming master of his father's entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, when they came, settlements in the most suitable places in Babylonia , he himself magnificently decorated the temple of Bel and the other temples with the spoils of the war , he also restored the originally existing city and fortified it

[a] Variant (in *Ap*) 29. He reigned from 625 to 605 B.C.
[b] T Reinach emends to " men.

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[7] *καταλαβὼν* cont. Apion.
[8] *ἀποδείξας* RSP : *ἀπέδειξαν* L : om V Lat
[9] *ἀνακαινίσας* (ex seqq) ins Naber.
[10] conj. : *ἕτερα* codd : *ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν* cont. Apion.
[11] conj *καταχαρισάμενος* RSP : *καταχειρισάμενος* O : *καταχρησάμενος* LV : contulit Lat. : *προσχαρισάμενος* cont. Apion. : *προσκαταχρησάμενος* Syncellus : *προσοχυρισάμενος* Herwerden : *προκαθιδρυσάμενος* Gutschmid.
[12] *καὶ ἀνακαινίσας πρὸς* SP : *καὶ ἀναγκάσας πρὸς* rell. : prisca reparavit Lat.

τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας[1] ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν[2] περιεβάλετο[3] τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς
225 τῆς πλίνθου.[4] καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς, κατεσκεύασεν[5] ἐν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν περισσὸν ἴσως ἂν εἴη λέγειν,[6] πλὴν ὡς ὄντα[7] μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συνετελέσθη
226 ἡμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα[8] ἀνῳκοδόμησε, τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δὲ[9] δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς οἰκείας[10] διαθέσεως ὡς
227 τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Μηδίαν τόποις." καὶ Μεγασθένης δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημο-

[1] ex cont. Apion Hudson: ἀναστρέψαντας ROLV ἀναστρέψας SP: ἀποστρέφοντας Ernesti

[2] κατασκευάζειν om RO aliquo modo praevalere Lat

[3] ed. pr.: ὑπερεβάλετο (-εβάλλετο L) codd., cont Apion: erexit Lat.

[4] τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου . . . ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλίνθου ex cont Apion. Naber: τῆς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου codd. Lat

[5] προσκατεσκεύακεν cont Apion: addidit Eusebius Armen: προκατεσκεύασεν Syncellus.

[6] περισσὸν . . λέγειν] μακρὰ δ' ἴσως ἔσται ἐάν τις ἐξηγῆται cont. Apion.

[7] πλὴν ὡς ὄντα Dindorf: πλὴν ὅσον τὰ SP: πλησίον τὲ τὰ RO: πλὴν ὅσον τὲ τὰ LV verum tamen hoc sciendum quia dum essent Lat.: πλὴν ὄντα γε ὑπερβολὴν ὡς cont. Apion: πλὴν ὄντα ὑπερβολῇ Syncellus.

[8] + ὑψηλὰ cont. Apion.

with another one,[a] and, in order that besiegers might no longer be able to divert the course of the river and direct it against the city,[a] he surrounded the inner city with three walls and the outer one with three, those of the inner city being of burnt brick and bitumen, while those of the outer city were of brick alone.[b] After walling about the city in this remarkable way and adorning the gate-towers as befitted their sacred character, he built, where his father's palace was, another palace adjoining it, of the height of which and its magnificence in other respects it would perhaps be extravagant[c] of me to speak, except to say that in spite of its being so great and splendid it was completed in fifteen days. In this palace he erected retaining walls[d] of stone, to which he gave an appearance very like that of mountains and, by planting on them trees of all kinds, he achieved this effect, and built the so-called hanging garden[e] because his wife, who had been brought up in the region of Media, had a desire for her native[f] environment." Megasthenes[g] also mentions these facts in the fourth

Megasthenes, Diocles and

[a—a] The text here is very difficult and in part corrupt; in emending it I have in part followed earlier scholars.
[b] Text emended after *Ap*.
[c] Variant in *Ap.* "tedious" (lit. "long").
[d] Meaning uncertain; Dr. Thackeray in *Ap.* translates "terraces."
[e] *Paradeisos* "garden" is a loan-word from Persian, originally meaning "hunting-park." As Dr. Thackeray notes in *Ap.*, this hanging garden was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, *cf.* Diodorus ii. 7 ff.
[f] Variant in *Ap.* "mountainous."
[g] *Cf. Ap.* i. 144 note *c*.

[9] δὲ ins. Niese. [10] ὀρείας cont. Apion.

νεύει αὐτῶν, δι' ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων ὑπερβεβληκότα[1] τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν.
228 καὶ Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περσικῶν μνημονεύει τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολιόρκησε τὴν Τύρον ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βασιλεύοντος κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰθωβάλου τῆς Τύρου καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἱστορούμενα περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα ἦν.

229 (2) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τελευτὴν Ἀβιλμαθαδάχος[2] ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει, ὃς εὐθὺς τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰεχονίαν[3] τῶν δεσμῶν ἀφεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν φίλων εἶχε, πολλὰς αὐτῷ δωρεὰς δοὺς καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν[4] ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ βασιλέων·
230 ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν Ἰεχονίᾳ παραδόντι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης ἑκουσίως αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατασκαφείη ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορ-
231 κίας, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιλμαθαδάχου μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῆς βασιλείας,

[1] Niese: ὑπερβεβηκότα codd.
[2] Niese: Ἀβιαμαθαδάχος (R)O. Ἀβελμάρθαχος P: Ἀβελμάθαχος S: Ἀβιλαμαρώδαχος LV: Ἀβιλαραμάταχος E: Amilmathapacus qui et Abimathadocus Lat.
[3] Iechoniam qui et Ioachim Lat.
[4] ἔντιμον P[2]: αὐτὸν ἔντιμον Hudson.

[a] Nothing is known of a Diocles who wrote a *History of Persia* There were, however, several ancient historians of this name.

book of his *History of India*, where he attempts to show that this king surpassed Heracles in bravery and in the greatness of his deeds, saying that he subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia. And Diocles, as well, mentions this king in the second book of his *History of Persia* [a]; and Philostratos in his *History of India* [b] and *of Phoenicia* writes that this king besieged Tyre for thirteen years at the time when Ithobalos was king of Tyre.[c] This, then, is what has been written about this king by all the historians. Philostratos on Nebuchadnezzar *Cf. Ap.* i. 144 ff.

(2) After the death of Nebuchadnezzar his son Abilmathadachos,[d] who took over the royal power, at once released Jechonias,[e] the king of Jerusalem, from his chains and kept him as one of his closest friends, giving him many gifts and setting him above the kings in Babylonia. For his father had not kept faith with Jechonias when he voluntarily surrendered himself with his wives and children and all his relatives for the sake of his native city, that it might not be taken by siege and razed, as we have said before.[f] When Abilmathadachos died after reigning eighteen Evil-merodach (Abilmathadachos) succeeds Nebuchadnezzar and frees Jehoiachin (Jechonias). 2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31. *Cf. Ap.* i. 146 ff.

[b] Weill emends to "Judaea" (Ἰουδαικαῖς). As Philostratos is known to us only through these excerpts in Josephus, there is no way of determining whether we should read "India" or "Judaea."

[c] The same statement is made in the excerpt from the "Phoenician records" (probably Menander of Ephesus) in *Ap.* i. 156.

[d] Conjectured form; MSS. Abiamathadachos, Abelma(r)thachos, etc.; variant in *Ap.* Eveilmaradūchos; bibl. Evilmerodach. Scripture does not mention the (historical) fact that he was the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

[e] Bibl. Jehoiachin, *cf.* § 97 note *c*.

[f] § 97. This explanation of Evil-merodach's motive is an addition to Scripture.

Ἠγλίσαρος[1] ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λαβοσόρδαχον[2] ἀφικνεῖται τῆς βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή, καὶ μῆνας ποιήσασα παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς πάντας ἐννέα τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει πρὸς Βαλτασάρην[3] τὸν καλούμενον Ναβοάνδηλον[4] παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυ-
232 λωνίοις ἐπὶ τοῦτον στρατεύουσι Κῦρός τε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Μήδων. καὶ πολιορκουμένῳ αὐτῷ[5] ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαυμάσιόν τι καὶ τεράστιον θέαμα συνέβη· κατέκειτο δειπνῶν καὶ πίνων[6] ἐν οἴκῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ πρὸς[7] ἑστιάσεις πεποιημένῳ βασιλικὰς μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ
233 τῶν φίλων δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ, κομισθῆναι κελεύει ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ναοῦ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Να-

[1] Ἰγλίσαρος SP Νιγλίσαρος LVE Helesarus, Egiesarius Lat codd. [2] Λαβροσόδαχον SP
[3] Βαλτάσαριν (-άριν O) OSP· Βαλτάσαρον LV.
[4] Naboan Lat
[5] πολιορκουμένῳ αὐτῷ E· πολιορκουμένων τοὺς codd
[6] καὶ πίνων om SPLVE Lat.
[7] καὶ πρὸς SP: καὶ γυρῷ E καὶ ἀργυρῷ εἰς O· καὶ ἄργυρος εἰς L: καὶ σκευῶν ἦν πολὺς ἄργυρος εἰς V et an R

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[a] The excerpt from Berosus in *Ap* i. 147 gives only 2 years to Evil-merodach (Bab Amel-Marduk), which agrees with historical fact. According to rabbinic tradition he reigned 23 years, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 344, vi. 430 (with corrections).

[b] Variants here Iglisaros, Niglisaros, in *Ap* Nēriglisaros, etc. His name in Babylonian was *Nergal-šar-usur*, which appears as *Nergal-sarezer* in Jer. xxxix. 3, *cf.* § 135 note *d.* He was not a son of Evil-merodach.

[c] Variant here Labrosodachos, in *Ap* Laborosoardochos. His name in Babylonian was *Labaši-Marduk*

[d] From March to the end of summer. 556 B C according to R Campbell Thompson in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii 218.

years,[a] his son Eglisaros[b] took over the royal power and held it for forty years until the end of his life. After him the succession to the throne fell to his son Labosordachos[c] and, after holding it nine months in all,[d] he died; it then passed to Baltasarēs,[e] who was called Naboandēlos[f] by the Babylonians. It was against him that Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of Media, took the field[g]; and, while he was being besieged in Babylon, there appeared to him a wonderful and portentous vision as he reclined at table, feasting and drinking[h] in a great hall[i] made for royal entertainments, with his concubines and friends, for, as it pleased him to do so, he ordered that there be brought from his own temple the vessels of God which Nebuchadnezzar had taken

Belshazzar's (Baltasares') feast Dan. v. 1

[e] Variants Baltasaris, -aros; bibl. Belshazzar, LXX Βαλτασάρ. He is not mentioned in the parallel in *Ap.* or in the excerpts from Berosus and Alexander Polyhistor preserved in Eusebius's *Chronicon*.

[f] Variant in *Ap.* Nabonnēdos. His Babylonian name was *Nabu-na'id*. Belshazzar was actually the son and co-ruler of Nabonidus (the usual modern form derived from Gr.), although he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in Scripture (which some ancient Jewish authorities explained as meaning "grandson"). Josephus probably identifies Belshazzar (the last Babylonian king according to Scripture) with Nabonidus because in the Greek sources (*e.g.* Herodotus and Berosus) the last Babylonian king is called Nabonidus (Labynētos, son of Labynētos, in Herodotus).

[g] Darius the Mede is mentioned here (his name does not occur in the parallel in *Ap.*) because of the bibl. statement, Dan. v. 31, that he "took the kingdom" (of Babylon). So too rabbinic tradition associates Darius with Cyrus in the capture of Babylon, *cf.* Ginzberg vi. 431. Actually there was no Median king Darius contemporary with Cyrus, *cf.* 248 note *d*.

[h] The variant omits "and drinking."

[i] Variant "in a great silver hall."

βουχοδονόσορος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐκ ἐχρῆτο μέν, εἰς δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ[1] ναὸν κατέθηκεν αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ θράσους προαχθεὶς ὥστε αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, μεταξὺ πίνων καὶ βλασφημῶν εἰς[2] τὸν θεόν, ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὁρᾷ χεῖρα προιοῦσαν καὶ τῷ τοίχῳ
234 τινὰς συλλαβὰς ἐγγράφουσαν. ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως συνεκάλεσε τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὅσον ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις[3] τά τε σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα κρίνειν δυνάμενον, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δηλώσωσι τὰ γεγραμμένα.
235 τῶν δὲ μάγων οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν δυναμένων οὐδὲ συνιέναι λεγόντων, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ λύπης κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκήρυξε τὴν χώραν, τῷ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν δηλουμένην διάνοιαν σαφῆ ποιήσαντι δώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον χρύσεον καὶ πορφυρᾶν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν, ὡς οἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς
236 τούτου γενομένου τοῦ κηρύγματος ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάγοι συνδραμόντες καὶ φιλοτιμησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἠπόρησαν
237 ἀθυμοῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ θεασαμένη τὸν βασιλέα ἡ μάμμη αὐτοῦ παραθαρσύνειν ἤρξατο καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἔστι τις ἀπὸ[4] τῆς Ἰουδαίας αἰχμάλωτος ἐκεῖθεν τὸ

[1] Niese. αὐτοῦ SPLVE: αὐτὸν O: evan R.
[2] πρὸς RO. secl. Niese.
[3] βαρβάροις LV Lat. [4] ἐκ LVE

[a] The references to the private temples of Belshazzar and Nebuchadnezzar are unscriptural details.

[b] It is not clear why Josephus distinguishes here between τεῖχος (usu. = "city-wall") and τοῖχος (usu = "house-wall") Scripture says, "there came forth fingers of a man's hand and wrote opposite the candelabrum on the plaster of the wall (LXX and Theod. τοίχου) of the king's palace" Possibly

as spoil from Jerusalem but instead of using them had deposited in his own temple.[a] Baltasares, however, went so far in his audacity as to use them, and, while drinking and blaspheming God, he saw a hand coming out of the wall and writing certain syllables on (another) wall.[b] Being troubled by this vision, he summoned the Magi and Chaldaeans and all of that class who were in Babylonia[c] and could interpret signs and dreams, in order that they might inform him what the writing meant. But, when the Magi were unable to read anything and said that they did not understand it, the king felt great anxiety and distress about the miraculous vision and made a proclamation throughout the entire country, promising to give to anyone who would make plain the writing and the meaning contained therein a necklace of linked[d] gold and purple dress to wear like the kings of Chaldaea and the third part of his own realm. When this proclamation was made, the Magi gathered in still greater numbers and made still greater efforts to read the writing, but were no less at a loss than before. Seeing the king despondent over this, his grandmother[e] began to console him by saying that there was a certain captive from Judaea, a native of that country, who

The Magi are unable to interpret the writing on the wall. Dan. v. 8.

Josephus's reference to the two (?) walls is based on Theod.'s reading "on the plaster of the wall *and* of the king's palace."

[c] The variant "among the barbarians" is evidently corrupt.

[d] Aram. *hamnika* (A.V. "chain") and LXX-Theod. μανιάκης are both derived from Persian *hamyānak*, the exact meaning of which is uncertain but is some kind of necklace.

[e] Bibl. "the queen." Many ancient commentators assumed that this was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar and so the grandmother (according to rabbinic tradition, *cf.* § 231 note *f*) of Belshazzar.

*γένος ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονοσόρου πορθή-
σαντος Ἱεροσόλυμα Δανίηλος ὄνομα, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ
καὶ δεινὸς εὑρεῖν*[1] *τὰ ἀμήχανα καὶ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ
γνώριμα, ὃς Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδενὸς
ἄλλου δυνηθέντος εἰπεῖν περὶ ὧν ἔχρῃζεν εἰς φῶς*
238 *ἤγαγε τὰ ζητούμενα. μεταπεμψάμενον*[2] *οὖν αὐτὸν
ἠξίου παρ' αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων
καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν τῶν οὐχ εὑρόντων αὐτὰ
κατακρίνειν, κἂν σκυθρωπὸν ᾖ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
σημαινόμενον.*
239 (3) *Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Δανίηλον ὁ Βαλ-
τασάρης καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ὡς πύθοιτο περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
τῆς σοφίας ὅτι τὸ*[3] *θεῖον αὐτῷ πνεῦμα συμπάρεστι
καὶ μόνος ἐξευρεῖν ἱκανώτατος ἃ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς
ἐπίνοιαν ἔρχεται, φράζειν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ*
240 *τί σημαίνει μηνύειν ἠξίου· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσαντι
πορφύραν δώσειν ἐνδεδύσθαι καὶ χρύσεον περὶ τὸν
αὐχένα στρεπτὸν καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ
μέρος τιμὴν καὶ γέρας τῆς σοφίας, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἐπισημότατος γένοιτο τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ'*
241 *ᾗ τούτων ἔτυχε πυνθανομένοις. Δανίηλος δὲ τὰς
μὲν δωρεὰς αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἠξίου (τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν καὶ
θεῖον ἀδωροδόκητον εἶναι καὶ προῖκα τοὺς δεο-
μένους ὠφελεῖν) μηνύσειν*[4] *δ' αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα
σημαίνοντα καταστροφὴν αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου, ὅτι μηδ'
οἷς ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς εἰς θεὸν ὕβρεις
ἐκολάσθη τούτοις ἔμαθεν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ*

[1] *ἐξευρεῖν* LVE.
[2] ed. pr.: *μεταπεμψάμενος* codd. E. [3] *τὸ* om RO.
[4] P[2] Lat.: *μηνύειν* rell.: *μηνύει* Dindorf.

[a] The reference to the "dark outlook" is an unscriptural detail.

had been brought from there by Nebuchadnezzar when he sacked Jerusalem; his name was Daniel and he was a wise man and skilful in discovering things beyond man's power and known only to God, and he had brought to light what King Nebuchadnezzar had tried to find, when no one else was able to tell him what he wanted to know. She therefore begged the king to send for him and inquire of him concerning the writing and so condemn the ignorance of those who could not read it, even though a dark outlook might be indicated by God [a]

(3) On hearing this, Baltasarēs called Daniel and, after telling him that he had learned of him and his wisdom and of the divine spirit that attended him and how he alone was fully able to discover things which were not within the understanding of others, he asked him to tell him what the writing was and to explain its meaning, for, he said, if Daniel did this, he would give him purple to wear and put a chain of linked gold about his neck and give him a third of his realm as an honour and reward for his wisdom, so that through these he might become most illustrious to all who saw him and asked the reason why he had obtained them [b] Then Daniel begged him to keep his presents—for, he said, that which was wise and divine could not be bought with gifts but freely benefited those who asked for help [c]—and said that he would explain the writing to him; it signified that his life would come to an end because not even from the punishment which his ancestor had suffered for his insolence to God had he learned to be pious and

[b] The last part of this sentence ("so that through these," etc) is an addition to Scripture

[c] Bibl "Let thy gifts be to thyself and give thy rewards to another"

242 τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μηχανᾶσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ
Ναβουχοδονοσόρου μεταστάντος εἰς δίαιταν θηρίων
ἐφ' οἷς ἠσέβησε καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεή-
σεις ἐλεηθέντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν ὡς τὴν
ἅπασαν ἔχοντα δύναμιν καὶ προνοούμενον τῶν
ἀνθρώπων μέχρις οὗ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ὑμνοῦντος,
λήθην αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τούτων καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐβλασφή-
μησε τὸ[1] θεῖον, τοῖς δὲ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν
243 παλλακίδων διηκονεῖτο. ταῦτ' οὖν[2] ὁρῶντα τὸν
θεὸν ὀργισθῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων
προκαταγγέλλειν εἰς οἷον αὐτὸν καταστρέψαι δεῖ
τέλος. ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γράμματα[3] τάδε· "μάνη
τούτῳ[4] δέ," ἔλεγεν, "Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ σημαίνοιτ'
ἂν ἀριθμός, ὥσπερ τῆς ζωῆς σου τὸν[5] χρόνον καὶ
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠρίθμηκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ περισσεύειν ἔτι
244 σοι βραχὺν χρόνον. θεκέλ· σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸν
σταθμόν· στήσας οὖν σου," λέγει, "τὸν χρόνον τῆς
βασιλείας ὁ θεὸς ἤδη καταφερομένην δηλοῖ. φαρές·
καὶ τοῦτο κλάσμα δηλοῖ καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν·
κλάσει τοιγαροῦν σου τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μήδοις
αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσαις διανεμεῖ."

245 (4) Δανιήλου δὲ ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ σημαίνειν
φράσαντος τὰ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ γράμματα τὸν μὲν
Βαλτασάρην, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφ' οὕτω χαλεποῖς τοῖς
246 δεδηλωμένοις, λύπη καὶ συμφορὰ κατέλαβεν· οὐ
μὴν ὡς προφήτῃ αὐτῷ κακῶν γενομένῳ τὰς δωρεὰς
ἃς ὑπέσχετο δώσειν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πάσας παρ-

[1] εἰς τὸ V.
[2] οὖν om. RO.
[3] γεγραμμένα LVE.
[4] Dindorf: τοῦτο codd. E.
[5] σου τὸν] τοσοῦτον SP^1: σου τοσοῦτον LV: οὕτως σου τὸν E.

not to attempt things beyond the natural power of man; on the contrary, though Nebuchadnezzar's way of living had been changed to that of beasts because of his impieties, and only on obtaining (God's) mercy after many supplications and entreaties had he been restored to a human way of living and to his kingdom and had therefore until the day of his death praised God as the possessor of all power and the guardian of men, Baltasarēs had forgotten these things and had grievously blasphemed the Deity and had allowed himself with his concubines to be served from His vessels Seeing these things, he said, God had become wrathful with him and was making known beforehand through this writing to what an end he must come Now the meaning of the letters was as follows " *Manē*. this," he said, " would in the Greek tongue signify ' number ' · that is to say, God has numbered the time of your life and reign, and there still remains for you a brief while *Thekel* this means ' weight ', for God has weighed the time of your kingship and shows that it is already declining.[a] *Phares*. this means ' a break ' in the Greek tongue. accordingly He will break up your kingdom and divide it between the Medes and the Persians "[b]

(4) When Daniel told the king that this was what the writing on the wall signified, Baltasarēs, as was natural upon the revelation of such dread news, was seized with grief and unhappiness. Nevertheless he did not, on the ground that Daniel was a prophet of evil to him, withhold from him the gifts he had promised, but gave him all of them, reasoning, in the Belshazzar honours Daniel Dan v 29.

[a] Bibl " wanting "

[b] For a summary of modern interpretations of the writing see J. A. Montgomery's *Commentary on Daniel*, pp. 261 ff

ἔσχε, τὸ[1] μὲν ἐφ' οἷς δοθήσονται λογιζόμενος ἴδιον αὐτοῦ[2] καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης,[3] ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ προφητεύσαντος εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὡμολογημένα[4] κρίνων[5] ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δικαίου, κἂν ᾖ σκυθρωπὰ τὰ μέλλοντα
247 συμβαίνειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως[6] ἔκρινε, μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον αὐτός τε ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ πόλις, Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύσαντος· Βαλτάσαρος γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' οὗ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος συνέβη γενέσθαι, βασιλεύσαντος
248 αὐτοῦ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη. τῶν μὲν οὖν Ναβουχοδονοσόρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγόνων τὸ τέλος τοιοῦτον παρειλήφαμεν γενόμενον· Δαρείῳ δὲ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ Κύρου τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἔτος ἦν ἑξηκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον, ὅτε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἷλεν, ὃς ἦν Ἀστυάγους υἱός, ἕτερον
249 δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκαλεῖτο ὄνομα· ὃς καὶ

[1] παρέσχε, τὸ] παρέσχετο SP.
[2] μὲν ἐφ' . . . ἴδιον αὐτοῦ] τὴν μὲν ἀπειλημένην τῆς βασιλείας καθαίρεσιν P[2m]
[3] πεπρωμένης P[1]LV: πεπρωμένης ἀνάγκης SP[2]
[4] προφητεύσαντος . . . ὡμολογημένα] προφητεύσαντος εἶναι λογισάμενος τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐκπλήρωσιν P[2m]
[5] κρῖναι ROLV Lat.
[6] αὐτῷ . . . οὕτως Naber· αὐτῷ SP· καὶ οὕτως LV καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ed pr

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[a] Text uncertain; possibly we should render, "and so he (Daniel) had interpreted." This explanation of Belshazzar's motive in rewarding Daniel is an addition to Scripture.

[b] Bibl. "in the same night."

[c] Where Josephus derived the above figure is unknown. Curiously enough it is supported by the Babylonian records which give 17 years for the reign of Nabonidus with whom Josephus identifies Belshazzar (cf. § 231). Nabonidus reigned from 556–539 B.C., cf. R. Campbell Thompson in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 224 note 1. According to

first place, that the things for the prophesying of which they were to be given were peculiar to himself and his destiny and in no way attributable to the one who had prophesied them, and judging, in the second place, that they had been promised to a man who was good and just, even though the future should turn out to be dark for himself; this, then, was his decision.[a] And not long afterwards[b] both he and the city were captured when Cyrus, the king of Persia, marched against it. For it was in the time of Baltasaros that the capture of Babylon took place, in the seventeenth year of his reign.[c] Such, then, as we learn from history, was the end to which the descendants of King Nebuchadnezzar came. Now Darius, who with his relative Cyrus put an end to the Babylonian sovereignty, was in his sixty-second year when he took Babylon; he was a son of Astyages but was called by another name among the Greeks.[d]

Darius takes Babylon. Dan. v. 31 (Aram. vi. 1).

rabbinic tradition Belshazzar reigned only 2 years, *cf.* Ginzberg vi. 430.

[d] The identity of "Darius the Mede" (a son of Ahasuerus = Xerxes, according to Dan. ix. 1, *cf.* LXX reading Artaxerxes for Darius in v. 31) has long been a puzzle. The various identifications proposed—with Cambyses II, with Gobryas, the Median general assisting Cyrus, with Cyaxares or Astyages, Median kings—are discussed and rejected by H. H. Rowley in a recent book, *Darius the Mede*. He observes, p. 15, note 3, that "Josephus's statement is inspired, of course, by the same harmonistic purpose as the modern arguments with which we are dealing. He found no place in his secular sources for the Darius the Mede of his biblical source, and so he resorted to this vague statement to mask the difficulty." To this I might add that the medieval Jewish commentators say that Darius the Mede (whom they distinguish from the later Persian Darius) was a father-in-law of Cyrus, but this statement does not seem to be based on very old rabbinic sources.

Δανίηλον τὸν προφήτην λαβὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς Μηδίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάσης αὐτῷ τιμῆς μεταδιδοὺς εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ· τῶν τριῶν γὰρ σατραπῶν ἦν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων σατραπειῶν κατέστησε· τοσούτους γὰρ ἐποίησε Δαρεῖος εἰς αὐτήν [1]

250 (5) Δανίηλος τοίνυν ὢν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τιμῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ σπουδῇ παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μόνος, ὡς ἂν ἔχων τὸ θεῖον πεπιστευμένος ἐν αὐτῷ, παραλαμβανόμενος[2] ἐφθονήθη· βασκαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἐν πλείονι τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι βλέποντες.

251 ζητούντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφορμὴν διαβολῆς καὶ κατηγορίας τῶν ἀχθομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι παρὰ τῷ Δαρείῳ παρεῖχεν αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν· ὢν γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων ἐπάνω καὶ παντὸς λήμματος περιορῶν, αἴσχιστον αὐτῷ δοκῶν[3] κἂν ὑπὲρ ὧν δοθείη καλῶς τι προσλαβεῖν,[4] οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν τοῖς ζηλο-

252 τυποῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων εὕρεσιν παρεῖχεν. οἱ δ' ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον, ὃ κατειπόντες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ζημιώσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμὴν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ διαβολῇ, τρόπον ἄλλον ἐζήτουν

[1] εἰς ταύτην SPL: om V. τοσούτους . . . αὐτήν om E Lat.
[2] ἐν αὐτῷ παραλαμβανόμενος om Lat, ed. pr.
[3] ed. pr.: δοκεῖν codd.: δοκοῦν Cocceji.
[4] καλῶς τι προσλαβεῖν Naber: καλῶς πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν codd.

[a] Text uncertain. What Josephus means by "so many rulers in each (satrapy)" is a puzzle, since he gives only the number of satraps in all. In any case he differs from Scripture which says, "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom a hundred and twenty satraps (A.V. "princes"), who should be over the whole kingdom. And over these three sārᵉkîn (A.V. "presidents," LXX ἡγουμένους "governors," Theod. τακτικούς "officers") of whom Daniel was one" (A.V.

And he took the prophet Daniel to his own palace in Media and kept him by his side, bestowing every honour on him For Daniel was one of the three satraps whom he appointed over the three hundred and sixty satrapies; so many rulers did Darius create in each satrapy [a]

(5) And so Daniel, being held in such great honour and such dazzling favour by Darius and being the only one associated with him in all matters because he was believed to have the divine spirit in him, became a prey to envy, for men are jealous when they see others held by kings in greater honour than themselves But, although those who were resentful of the esteem in which he was held by Darius sought some pretext for slander and accusation against him, he never gave them a single cause, for, being superior to considerations of money and scorning any kind of gain and thinking it most disgraceful to accept anything even if it were given for a proper cause,[b] he did not let those who were envious of him find a single ground for complaint; since these men, therefore, had nothing to bring against him before the king and so injure him in the king's esteem by their abuse and slander, they sought other means of getting him

The Median nobles plot Daniel's destruction Dan vi 3

" first ") According to the book of Esther there were 127 provinces in the Persian kingdom. Herodotus says there were 20 in the time of Darius (I). Apparently Josephus understood Scripture to mean that there were 3 satraps in each satrapy, making 360 satraps in all, but has expressed himself carelessly in speaking of 360 satrapies instead of 360 satraps. But it is also possible that the text is corrupt and that his real meaning has been obscured.

[b] Text and meaning slightly uncertain. The preceding is an amplification of Scripture which says merely that " he was faithful and no error or corruption (A.V. " fault ") was found in him "

καθ' ὃν αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσονται ὁρῶντες οὖν
τὸν Δανίηλον τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας προσευχόμενον τῷ
θεῷ, πρόφασιν ἔγνωσαν εὑρηκέναι δι' ἧς ἀπολέ-
253 σουσιν αὐτόν· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντες ἀπ-
ήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὡς τοῖς σατράπαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς
ἡγεμόσι δόξειεν ἐπὶ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας ἀνεῖναι τὸ
πλῆθος, ὅπως μήτ' αὐτῷ τις μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς δεό-
μενος αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχόμενος εἴη, τὸν μέντοι γε
αὐτῶν παραβάντα ταύτην τὴν γνώμην εἰς τὸν τῶν
λεόντων ἔκριναν ῥῖψαι λάκκον ἀπολούμενον
254 (6) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐ συνιδὼν τὴν κακουργίαν
αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸν Δανίηλον ταῦτα κατεσκευασμέ-
νους ὑπονοήσας ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφη
δεδογμένοις, καὶ κυρώσειν τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν
ἐπαγγελλόμενος προτίθησι πρόγραμμα δηλοῦν τῷ
255 πλήθει τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς σατράπαις καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι πάντες φυλαττόμενοι τὰ προστεταγμένα μὴ
παραβῆναι ἠρέμουν, Δανιήλῳ δὲ φροντὶς οὐδ'
ἡτισοῦν τούτων ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν ἱστάμενος
256 ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ πάντων ὁρώντων οἱ δὲ σατράπαι
τῆς ἀφορμῆς αὐτοῖς ἣν ἐσπούδαζον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν
Δανίηλον παραφανείσης εὐθὺς ἧκον πρὸς τὸν βα-
σιλέα καὶ κατηγόρουν ὡς παραβαίνοντος μόνου τοῦ
Δανιήλου τὰ προστεταγμένα· μηδενὸς γὰρ τῶν
ἄλλων τολμῶντος προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ
τοῦτ' οὐ δι' ἀσέβειαν,[1] ἀλλὰ διὰ φυλακὴν καὶ
257 διατήρησιν[2] . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου· ἀπὸ γὰρ μείζονος

[1] εὐσέβειαν L.

[2] post διατήρησιν lacunam statuit Holwerda · sed propter custodiam fieret praeceptorum, ille contemnens praecepta ad suum oraret deum Lat

According to Scripture prayers addressed to the king were excepted from the prohibition

out of the way. Accordingly, when they saw Daniel praying to God three times a day, they realized that they had found a pretext for destroying him. And, going to Darius, they informed him that his satraps and governors had resolved to give the people a respite for thirty days during which no one should address a petition or prayer either to him or to their gods,[a] and they had, moreover, decided that anyone who transgressed this decree of theirs should be thrown into the lions' den to perish.

Daniel is accused of disobeying Darius's decree. Dan. vi. 9 (Aram. 10).

(6) Thereupon the king, who did not see through their wicked scheme or suspect that they had framed this measure against Daniel, said that he approved of their decree,[b] and, undertaking to ratify their proposal, issued an edict announcing to the people what had been decreed by the satraps. Accordingly, while all the rest of the people took care not to transgress these orders and remained quiet, Daniel took no thought of them whatever but, as his custom was, stood up and prayed to God in the sight of all.[c] Thereupon the satraps, being presented with the opportunity to act against Daniel which they had looked for, straightway went to the king and accused Daniel of being the only one to transgress his orders. For, they said, though no one else had dared to pray to the gods—and this not because of impiety but in order to observe and preserve . . .[d] out of envy. For, imagining that Darius might

[b] Amplification of Scripture which says, "Wherefore King Darius signed the writing and the decree."

[c] Bibl. "his windows being open in his upper chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees and prayed," etc.

[d] The text is in disorder here, probably because of the loss of some words after "preserve," less probably because of a conflation of variant readings.

ἧς προσεδόκων εὐνοίας τοῦτον[1] ποιεῖν τὸν Δαρεῖον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς καὶ καταφρονήσαντι τῶν ἐκείνου προσταγμάτων συγγνώμην ἑτοίμως νέμειν, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο βασκαίνοντες τῷ Δανιήλῳ, οὔτε μετεβάλλοντο πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον, ῥίπτειν δ' αὐτὸν ἠξίουν κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων

258 ἐλπίσας δ' ὁ Δαρεῖος ὅτι ῥύσεται τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ[2] εὐθύμως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ βληθέντος εἰς τὸν λάκκον σφραγίσας τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου κείμενον ἀντὶ θύρας λίθον ἀνεχώρησε, δι' ὅλης δ' ἄσιτος τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἄυπνος διῆγεν ἀγω-

259 νιῶν περὶ τοῦ Δανιήλου· μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἦλθε καὶ σωζομένην τὴν σφραγῖδα εὑρών, ᾗ σημηνάμενος τὸν λίθον κατελελοίπει, ἀνοίξας ἀνεβόησε, καλῶν τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ πυνθανόμενος εἰ σώζεται τοῦ δὲ ἐπακούσαντος[3] τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μηδὲν παθεῖν εἰπόντος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν

260 ἀνελκυσθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ τῶν θηρίων οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δανίηλον μηδὲν πεπονθότα δεινόν, διὰ μὲν τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτὸν σώζεσθαι, πεπληρωμένους δὲ τοὺς λέοντας τροφῆς μὴ ἅψασθαι μηδὲ προσελθεῖν τῷ Δανιήλῳ νομίζοντες, τοῦτο ἔλεγον

261 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μισήσας αὐτοὺς τῆς πονηρίας παραβληθῆναι μὲν πολλὰ κελεύει τοῖς λέουσι κρέα, κορεσθέντων δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς

[1] conj . τοῦτο codd
[2] αὐτὸν SPLVE
[3] ὑπακούσαντος Ibbetson

[a] Emended text mss "might do this"
[b] So Theod and LXX ; Aram. "with a mournful voice."

treat him [a] with greater favour than they had expected, so as readily to pardon him even after he had shown contempt for the king's orders, and for this very reason being envious of Daniel, they would not adopt a milder course but demanded that he be cast into the lions' den in accordance with the law. So Darius, hoping that the Deity would save Daniel and that he would suffer no harm from the beasts, bade him bear his fate with good courage. Then, when he had been cast into the den, the king sealed the stone that was placed over the entrance as a door, and withdrew; and he went without food or sleep the whole night in his anxiety for Daniel. But, when day came, he arose and went to the den, where he found the seal intact which he had left to mark the stone, and, opening it, he called to Daniel with a shout [b] and asked whether he was safe. Daniel, on hearing the king, said that he had not been harmed; [c] whereupon he ordered him to be drawn up from the beasts' den. Daniel's enemies, however, on seeing that he had suffered no harm, did not choose to believe that it was through the Deity and His providence that he had been saved, but held that the lions had been stuffed with food and therefore had not touched Daniel nor come near him, and so they told the king. But he, in his detestation of their wickedness, ordered a large quantity of meat to be thrown to the lions and, when they had eaten their fill, commanded Daniel's enemies

Daniel is saved from the lions. Dan. vi. 16 (Aram. 17).

[c] Josephus, in accordance with his usual tendency to rationalize, passes over Daniel's reference to the angel sent by God "to shut the lions' mouths," vs. 22 (Aram. 23). It is noteworthy, however, that the LXX, in distinction from Theod., has also altered this phrase to "God has saved me from the lions."

τοῦ Δανιήλου προσέταξεν εἰς τὸν λάκκον ἐμβληθῆ-
ναι, ὅπως εἰ διὰ κόρον αὐτοῖς οὐ προσήξουσιν[1] οἱ
262 λέοντες μάθοι. σαφὲς δ' ἐγένετο τῷ Δαρείῳ, τῶν
σατραπῶν παραβληθέντων τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον
ἔσωσε τὸν Δανίηλον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐφείσαντο
οἱ λέοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντας διεσπάραττον ὡσανεὶ
σφόδρα λιμώττοντες καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεεῖς· ἠρέθισε
δ' αὐτοὺς οὐ τὸ πεινῆν, οἶμαι, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν
ἀφθόνων κρεῶν ἐμπεπλησμένους,[2] ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων κακίᾳ, δήλη γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ἂν
αὐτὴ ζῴοις[3] πρὸς τιμωρίαν γένοιτο,[4] τοῦ θεοῦ
προαιρουμένου.
263 (7) Διαφθαρέντων οὖν τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Δα-
νιήλῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος καθ'
ὅλην ἔπεμψε τὴν χώραν ἐπαινῶν τὸν θεὸν ὃν
Δανίηλος προσκυνεῖ, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγων
ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸ πάντων[5] κράτος ἔχοντα· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ
τὸν Δανίηλον ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ, πρῶτον αὐτὸν
264 ἀποδείξας τῶν φίλων. ὢν δὲ οὕτως ἐπίσημος καὶ
λαμπρὸς ἐπὶ δόξῃ[6] τοῦ θεοφιλὴς εἶναι Δανίηλος
ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδικῆς[7] βάριν
εὐπρεπέστατόν τι κατασκεύασμα καὶ θαυμασίως
πεποιημένον, ἣ μέχρι δεῦρο μὲν ἔστι καὶ σῴζεται,

[1] προσάξουσιν P: προσέξουσιν V: προσθίξουσιν E: προσψαύσουσι Zonaras: accederent Lat.
[2] PLV: πεπληρωμένους rell.
[3] ἂν αὐτὴ ζῴοις ed. pr. ἐν αὐτῇ ζῴοις LV: ζῴοις ἦν αὕτη rell.
[4] γένοιτο LV ed. pr.: ἢ γένοιτο rell.
[5] πᾶν LVE.
[6] ὑπὸ δόξης SPLV.
[7] LE Lat.: τοῖς Μηδικοῖς rell.

to be cast into the den in order that he might discover whether the lions would refuse to come near them because of satiety.[a] When the satraps were thrown to the beasts, it became evident to Darius that it was the Deity who had saved Daniel, for the lions spared no one of them but tore them all to pieces as though they were terribly famished and in need of food. And it was not, I think, the beasts' hunger that aroused them, for they had been satisfied a little while before with an abundance of meat, but the wickedness of the men—for this would be apparent even to irrational animals—which resulted in their being punished, as was the intention of God.

Darius honours Daniel

Dan. vi. 25 (Aram. 26)

(7) Now after those who had plotted against Daniel had perished in this manner, King Darius sent throughout the entire country, praising the God whom Daniel worshipped and saying that He alone was the true and Almighty God. He also showed Daniel extraordinarily high honour by designating him the first of his Friends.[b]

Daniel's fortress at Ecbatana

And Daniel, being now so renowned and distinguished because of his reputation as a man dear to God, built at Ecbatana in Media a fortress[c] which was a very beautiful work and wonderfully made, and remains and is preserved to this day; it appears to those

[a] The preceding passage on the testing of the lions' hunger is an addition to Scripture, to which there is a rabbinic parallel, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 349.

[b] Josephus, I think, here uses "friends" in the Hellenistic sense of nobles of the court. Scripture (Aram. and Theod.) says merely that Daniel "prospered in the reign (or "kingdom") of Darius," but LXX has "he was appointed over the kingdom of Darius."

[c] *Cf.* Dan. viii. 2, "I was at Shushan (Susa) in the fortress (*bîrāh* A.V. "palace," Theod. βάρει = "fortress," LXX "city,")," etc. *Cf.* next note but one, and § 269 note *c*.

τοῖς δ' ὁρῶσι δοκεῖ προσφάτως κατεσκευάσθαι καὶ
ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης ἧς ἕκαστος αὐτὴν ἡμέρας ἱστορεῖ
γεγονέναι οὕτως νεαρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀκμαῖον τὸ
κάλλος καὶ μηδαμοῦ γεγηρακὸς ὑπὸ τοσούτου χρόνου·
265 πάσχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατασκευάσματα ταὐτὸν ἀν-
θρώποις καὶ πολιοῦται[1] καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν λυόμενα ὑπὸ
τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν μαραινόμενα θά-
πτουσι δ' ἐν τῇ βάρει τούς τε Μήδων βασιλέας καὶ
Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, καὶ ὁ ταύτην
πεπιστευμένος Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν ἱερεὺς καὶ τοῦτο
266 γίνεται μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. ἄξιον δὲ
τἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὃ μάλιστα θαυμάσαι τις ἂν
ἀκούσας διελθεῖν· ἅπαντα[2] γὰρ αὐτῷ παραδόξως ὡς
ἑνί τινι τῶν μεγίστων εὐτυχήθη προφητῶν,[3] καὶ
παρὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον τιμή τε καὶ δόξα ἡ
παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τελευ-
267 τήσας δὲ μνήμην αἰώνιον ἔχει τὰ γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα
δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλέλοιπεν, ἀναγινώσκεται
παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν
ὅτι Δανίηλος ὡμίλει τῷ θεῷ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα
μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὥριζεν εἰς ὃν ταῦτα

[1] παλαιοῦται SPLV Lat.
[2] ἁπαντᾷ Niese
[3] εὐτυχήθη προφητῶν om Niese cum RO.

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[a] Variant "grow old"

[b] The medieval Jewish travellers, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Pethachya, who visited Mesopotamia and Persia in the 12th century, also mention the mausoleum of Daniel at Susa Ginzberg vi 437, citing them and older Christian sources, thinks that these medieval legends may be based on the present passage in Josephus. Rappaport also suggests that Josephus may have read about the supposed tomb of Daniel in an apocryphal addition to the

who view it to have been recently constructed and to have been completed on the very day on which the visitor sees it, so fresh and radiant is its beauty, which has in no way aged in this long period of time—for buildings suffer the same changes as men; they turn grey[a] and lose their strength with the years, and their beauty fades. In this fortress they bury the kings of Media, Persia and Parthia even now, and the person to whose care it is entrusted is a Jewish priest; this custom is observed to this very day.[b] Now it is fitting to relate certain things about this man (Daniel) which one may greatly wonder at hearing, namely that all things happened to him in a marvellously fortunate way[c] as to one of the greatest prophets,[d] and during his lifetime he received honour and esteem from kings and people, and, since his death, his memory lives on eternally. For the books[e] which he wrote and left behind are still read by us even now, and we are convinced by them that Daniel spoke with God, for he was not only wont to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time

book of Daniel. Some Jewish sources agree with Josephus in making Daniel end his life at Susa, but Ginzberg says, "there can be no doubt that the old rabbinic sources quoted were of the opinion that Daniel died in the Holy Land, where he spent the remainder of his life."

[c] Text uncertain.

[d] For the varying rabbinic opinions as to whether Daniel was a prophet or not see Ginzberg vi. 413. It may be added that in the Hebrew canon of Scripture the book of Daniel is found among the Hagiographa and not the Prophets.

[e] Why Josephus uses the plural is not clear. Possibly he is thinking of various apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel current in his time, either in Heb.-Aram. or Greek, although he has not made use of any such apocryphal additions as are still extant.

268 ἀποβήσεται· καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ χείρω προλεγόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσχεραινομένων ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, Δανίηλος ἀγαθῶν ἐγίνετο προφήτης αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εὐφημίας τῶν προλεγομένων εὔνοιαν ἐπισπᾶσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τέλους αὐτῶν ἀληθείας πίστιν καὶ δόξαν ὁμοῦ θειότητος παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀποφέρε-
269 σθαι.[1] κατέλιπε δὲ γράψας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν τὸ[2] τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον ἐποίησε δῆλον· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γενομένου[3] ἐν Σούσοις ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Περσίδος, ὡς ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον μετὰ ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, σεισμοῦ δὲ καὶ[4] κλόνου τῆς γῆς ἐξαίφνης γενομένου καταλειφθείη μόνος φευγόντων τῶν φίλων καὶ πέσοι μὲν ἐπὶ στόμα ταραχθεὶς[5] ἐπὶ τὰς δύο χεῖρας, τινὸς δ' ἁψαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταξὺ κελεύοντος ἀναστῆναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν
270 μετὰ πολλὰς γενεάς. ἀναστάντι δ' αὐτῷ δειχθῆναι κριὸν ἐσήμαινε μέγαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπεφυκότα κέρατα, τελευταῖον δ' αὐτῶν ὑψηλότερον ἔχοντα. ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψαι μὲν εἰς τὴν δύσιν, θεάσασθαι δὲ

[1] ἀποφαίνεσθαι RO.
[2] τὸ LVE Chrysostomus et fort. Lat : ἀληθὲς τὸ rell.
[3] αὐτοῦ γενομένου ex Lat. Hudson : αὐτὸν γενόμενον codd
[4] δὲ καὶ L Chrysostomus : καὶ rell.
[5] ταῤῥαχθεὶς S. καταρ(ρ)αχθεὶς P: καὶ στηριχθῆναι Chrysostomus.

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[a] Lit. "indistinguishableness" (from truth)
[b] Josephus omits Daniel's vision of the beasts, ch. vii. He also ignores the chronological difficulty presented by the bibl statement, viii. 1, that the vision in the plain of Susa occurred in the 3rd year of Belshazzar's reign

at which these would come to pass And, whereas the other prophets foretold disasters and were for that reason in disfavour with kings and people, Daniel was a prophet of good tidings to them, so that through the auspiciousness of his predictions he attracted the goodwill of all, while from their realization he gained credit among the multitude for his truthfulness and at the same time won their esteem for his divine power And he left behind writings in which he has made plain to us the accuracy and faithfulness to truth [a] of his prophecies. For he says that when he was in Susa,[b] the metropolis [c] of Persia,[d] and went out into the plain with his companions, there was a sudden shaking and trembling of the earth, and he was left alone by his friends, who fled,[e] and in confusion he fell on his face and his two hands, whereupon someone touched him and at the same time bade him arise and see what was to happen to his countrymen in the future after many generations [f] When he arose, there was shown to him, he reveals, a great ram with many horns [g] growing out of him, the last of which was higher than the rest Then he looked toward the

Daniel's vision at Susa Dan viii

[c] *Cf.* LXX ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει "in the city of Susa", Heb and Theod "in the fortress (A V. "palace") of Susa."

[d] Bibl Elam Heb. adds "by the river Ulai" (LXX "in the gate of Elam," Theod. "upon the Ubal"). Susa was, in fact, the capital of the Persian kings.

[e] The earthquake and the presence of friends are unscriptural details

[f] In Scripture Daniel's confusion and the appearance of the interpreter are mentioned only later (*vs.* 17), after the description of the vision of the goat.

[g] Bibl. "high horns." The Heb form is so vocalized that it may mean either "two horns" (dual) or "horns" (pl.)

τράγον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς δι᾽ ἀέρος φερόμενον συρράξαντα τῷ κριῷ καὶ τοῖς κέρασι πλήξαντα[1] δὶς καταβαλεῖν
271 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πατῆσαι εἶτα τὸν τράγον ἰδεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου μέγιστον ἀναφύσαντα[2] κέρας, οὗ κλασθέντος ἀναβλαστῆσαι[3] τέσσαρα καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνέμων τετραμμένα. ἐξ αὐτῶν δ᾽ ἀνασχεῖν καὶ ἄλλο μικρότερον ἀνέγραψεν, ὃ αὐξῆσαν ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιδεικνὺς θεὸς πολεμήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ συγχεεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας κωλύσειν γενέσθαι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας
272 ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ. ταῦτα μὲν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ἐν Σούσοις ὁ Δανίηλος ἔγραψε, κρῖναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ[4] τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ φαντάσματος ἐδήλου τὸν θεὸν οὕτως· τὸν μὲν κριὸν βασιλείας τὰς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν[5] σημαίνειν ἔφασκε, τὰ δὲ κέρατα τοὺς βασιλεύειν μέλλοντας, τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον κέρας σημαίνειν τὸν ἔσχατον βασιλέα τοῦτον γὰρ διοίσειν ἁπάντων
273 πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ τὸν δὲ τράγον δηλοῦν ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τις βασιλεύων ἔσται, ὃς τῷ Πέρσῃ συμβαλὼν δὶς κρατήσει τῇ μάχῃ καὶ παραλήψεται
274 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅπασαν δηλοῦσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κέρατος τοῦ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ τράγου

[1] ex Chrysos. Hudson · κυρήξαντα P[2] · unde κυρίξαντα conj Hudson. ῥήξαντα P[1] rell : impetitum Lat.
[2] L (?) Chrysos : ἀναφύντα rell : produxisse Lat.
[3] ἄλλα ἀναβλαστῆσαι Chrysos. [4] αὐτὸν RO.
[5] Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων tr. LVE Lat Chrysos

[a] Emended text, mss "broke" or "butted"
[b] According to Scripture the goat had a great horn before he attacked the ram
[c] So Heb ; LXX and Theod. "strong."
[d] Cf. Dan xii 11, "And from the time that the daily

west and beheld a goat borne through the air from that quarter, which rushed upon the ram, struck[a] him twice with his horns, and, hurling him to the ground, trampled on him. Thereupon he saw a very great horn sprouting up from the goat's forehead[b] and, when this was broken off, four horns came up, facing each of the four winds. From these, he writes, there arose another smaller[c] horn which God, who revealed these things to him, told him would grow and make war on his nation, take their city by force, disrupt the temple service and prevent the sacrifices from being offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days.[d] This, Daniel writes, is what he saw in the plain of Susa, and he relates that God interpreted to him the form of the vision as follows. The ram, he declares, signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those who were to reign, the last horn signifying the last king, for this king would surpass all the others in wealth and glory.[e] The goat, he said, indicated that there would be a certain king of the Greeks who would encounter the Persian king twice in battle and defeat him and take over all his empire.[f] The great horn in the forehead of the goat indicated

Interpretation of the vision. Dan. viii.

sacrifice shall be taken away . . . a thousand two hundred and ninety days." In the present passage, viii. 14, Scripture has "two thousand and three hundred evening-mornings (LXX, Theod., A.V. "days")," apparently meaning 2300 half-days or 1150 days, which approximately equals the 3½ years (lit. "time, times and half a time") mentioned in vii. 25 as well as the number given in xii. 11. *Cf.* J. A. Montgomery, *Commentary*, etc., p. 343.

[e] The last part of this sentence ("the last horn," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

[f] The last part of this sentence also ("who would encounter," etc.) is an addition to Scripture.

τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνα-
βλάστησιν ἐκπεσόντος ἐκείνου, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ
τέσσαρα κλίματα τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἀποστροφὴν
ἑκάστου τοὺς διαδόχους μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ
πρώτου βασιλέως ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διαμερισμὸν
εἰς αὐτοὺς τῆς βασιλείας, οὔτε δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ
τούτους ὄντας οὔτε συγγενεῖς, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν
275 ἄρξειν τῆς οἰκουμένης γενήσεσθαι[1] δ' ἐκ τούτων
τινὰ βασιλέα τὸν ἐκπολεμήσοντα τό τε ἔθνος καὶ
τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους ἀφαιρη-
σόμενον πολιτείαν καὶ συλήσοντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ
276 τὰς θυσίας ἐπ' ἔτη τρία κωλύσοντα ἐπιτελεσθῆναι.
καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ
Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανίηλος
καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέγραψε τὰ γενησό-
μενα. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον Δανίηλος καὶ περὶ τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν
αἱρεθήσεται τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ὁ ναὸς[2] ἐρημω-
277 θήσεται.[3] ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος θεοῦ δείξαντος
αὐτῷ συγγράψας κατέλειψεν· ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώ-
σκοντας καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας θαυμάζειν
ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ[4] τιμῇ τὸν Δανίηλον καὶ τοὺς
Ἐπικουρείους ἐκ τούτων εὑρίσκειν πεπλανημένους,
278 οἳ τήν τε πρόνοιαν ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου καὶ θεὸν[5]
οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ'

[1] Niese: γενέσθαι codd. E: oriri Lat.: ἔσεσθαι Chrysos.
[2] αἱρεθήσεται . . . ναὸς add. Chrysos.
[3] τὸν αὐτὸν . . . ἐρημωθήσεται om. Lat., secl. Niese.
[4] τοῦ θεοῦ SLE. [5] τὸν θεὸν LVE.

[a] Here again Josephus amplifies Scripture.
[b] *Cf.* § 271 note *d*.
[c] "Jerusalem . . . laid waste" is conjecturally added

the first king, and the growing out of the four horns after the first horn fell out, and their facing each of the four quarters of the earth denoted the successors of the first king after his death, and the division of the kingdom among them and that these, who were neither his sons nor his relatives, would rule the world for many years.[a] And there would arise from their number a certain king who would make war on the Jewish nation and their laws, deprive them of the form of government based on these laws, spoil the temple and prevent the sacrifices from being offered for three years.[b] And these misfortunes our nation did in fact come to experience under Antiochus Epiphanes, just as Daniel many years before saw and wrote that they would happen. In the same manner Daniel also wrote about the empire of the Romans and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple laid waste.[c] All these things, as God revealed them to him, he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how they have come to pass must wonder at Daniel's having been so honoured by God, and learn from these facts how mistaken are the Epicureans, who exclude Providence from human life and refuse to believe that God governs its affairs or

The fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy proves God's providence.

from the excerpt in Chrysostomus. Here as in an earlier reference (§ 78) to the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, p. 609, and some other scholars suspect an interpolation in Josephus's text. But as Josephus is here summarizing the contents of Dan. xi.-xii., which his rabbinic contemporaries interpreted as a prophecy of Roman conquest, there is no reason why he should not have mentioned Rome, or to suppose that a mere reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans would have been avoided as likely to offend Roman readers.

ὑπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν
ὅλων οὐσίας κυβερνᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἄμοιρον δὲ
ἡνιόχου καὶ ἀφρόντιστον[1] τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως
279 φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. ὃς εἰ τοῦτον ἀπροστάτητος ἦν
τὸν τρόπον, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐρήμους κυβερ-
νητῶν καταδυομένας ὁρῶμεν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἢ καὶ
τὰ ἅρματα περιτρεπόμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τοὺς ἡνιο-
χοῦντας, συντριβεὶς ἂν ὑπὸ[2] τῆς ἀπρονοήτου φορᾶς[3]
280 ἀπωλώλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. τοῖς οὖν προειρημένοις
ὑπὸ Δανιήλου δοκοῦσί μοι σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθοῦς
δόξης διαμαρτάνειν οἱ τῷ θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι περὶ
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀποφαινόμενοι πρόνοιαν· οὐ γὰρ
ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν, εἰ συνέβαινεν
αὐτοματισμῷ τινι τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἑω-
281 ρῶμεν ἀποβαίνοντα. ἐγὼ μὲν[4] περὶ τούτων ὡς
εὗρον καὶ ἀνέγνων οὕτως ἔγραψα· εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως
δοξάζειν βουλήσεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἐχέτω
τὴν ἑτερογνωμοσύνην.

[1] O Lat φροντιστοῦ rell.
[2] Niese ἀπὸ codd
[3] συμφορᾶς O
[4] μὲν οὖν SPV

[a] "blessed and immortal being" is a phrase attributed to Epicurus, *cf.* Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 71.

that the universe is directed by a blessed and immortal Being[a] to the end that the whole of it may endure, but say that the world runs by its own movement without knowing a guide or another's care[b] If it were leaderless in this fashion, it would be shattered through taking a blind course[c] and so end in destruction, just as we see ships go down when they lose their helmsmen or chariots overturn when they have no drivers It therefore seems to me, in view of the things foretold by Daniel, that they are very far from holding a true opinion who declare that God takes no thought for human affairs. For if it were the case that the world goes on by some automatism, we should not have seen all these things happen in accordance with his prophecy.[d] Now I have written about these matters as I have found them in my reading; if, however, anyone wishes to judge otherwise of them, I shall not object to his holding a different opinion

[b] Or "uncared for." The variant means practically the same as the above.

[c] Variant "through unforeseen misfortune."

[d] Cf. the anti-Epicurean passage in *Ap.* ii. 180 ff., and with Josephus's argument here cf. that in Plutarch, *De Pythiae Orac.* [illegible], p. 353) [illegible] Josephus's older contemporary Philo was no less antagonistic to the Epicureans. In rabbinic literature the word *Apikoros*, derived from "Epicurus," is used in the general sense of "unbeliever."

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΑ

(i. 1) Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει
(τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας μετ-
αναστῆναι τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας εἰς Βαβυ-
λῶνα συνέπεσεν) ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν
καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκείνων τῶν ταλαιπώρων, καὶ[1]
καθὼς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου
2 πρὶν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μετὰ τὸ
δουλεῦσαι Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις
αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην ὑπομεῖναι τὴν δουλείαν ἐπὶ ἔτη
ἑβδομήκοντα πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πάτριον ἀπο-
καταστήσει γῆν καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομήσουσι καὶ
τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀπολαύσουσιν εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτ'[2] αὐ-
3 τοῖς παρέσχεν. παρορμήσας γὰρ τὴν Κύρου ψυχὴν
ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν γράψαι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι
Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει· "ἐπεί με ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέ-
γιστος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, πείθομαι
τοῦτον εἶναι ὃν τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἔθνος προσ-
4 κυνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ τοὐμὸν προεῖπεν ὄνομα διὰ τῶν
προφητῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομήσω ἐν
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρᾳ."
5 (2) Ταῦτα δ' ἔγνω Κῦρος ἀναγινώσκων τὸ βι-
βλίον ὃ τῆς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἡσαΐας κατέλιπεν
πρὸ ἐτῶν διακοσίων καὶ δέκα· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν ἀπορ-

BOOK XI

Cyrus is divinely inspired to end the Babylonian captivity
1 Esdras ii 1, Ezra i 1

(i. 1) In the first year of Cyrus's reign—this was the seventieth year from the time when our people were fated to migrate from their own land to Babylon—God took pity on the captive state and misfortune of those unhappy men and, as He had foretold to them through the prophet Jeremiah before the city was demolished, that, after they should have served Nebuchadnezzar and his descendants and endured this servitude for seventy years, He would again restore them to the land of their fathers and they should build the temple and enjoy their ancient prosperity,[a] so did He grant it them. For he stirred up the spirit of Cyrus and caused him to write throughout all Asia,[b] "Thus says King Cyrus. Since the Most High God has appointed me king of the habitable world, I am persuaded that He is the god whom the Israelite nation worships, for He foretold my name through the prophets [c] and that I should build His temple in Jerusalem in the land of Judaea."

Cyrus reads Isaiah's prophecy.
Is. xliv. 28.

(2) These things Cyrus knew from reading the book of prophecy which Isaiah had left behind two hundred and ten years earlier. For this prophet had

[a] Jer. xxv. 11 ff., xxix. 10 ff.
[b] Bibl. "throughout all his kingdom."
[c] There is no reference to the prophets in 1 Esdras = Ezra.

[1] καὶ om. Naber cum L. [2] ἃ τότ' Naber.

ρήτῳ εἶπε ταῦτα λέγειν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι "βούλομαι
Κῦρον ἐγὼ[1] πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀποδείξας[2]
βασιλέα πέμψαι μου τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν καὶ
6 οἰκοδομῆσαί μου τὸν ναόν." ταῦτα Ἡσαίας προ-
εφήτευσεν ἔμπροσθεν ἢ κατασκαφῆναι τὸν ναὸν
ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀνα-
γνόντα τὸν Κῦρον καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὸ θεῖον ὁρμή τις
ἔλαβεν καὶ φιλοτιμία ποιῆσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ
καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
Ἰουδαίων συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔφη βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν
αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ ἀναστῆσαί τε τὴν πόλιν Ἱερο-
7 σόλυμα καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς
καὶ τοῦτον σύμμαχον αὐτόν τε γράψειν τοῖς γειτο-
νεύουσιν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων καὶ
σατραπῶν, ἵνα συμβάλωνται χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ
ἄργυρον εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ πρὸς τού-
τοις θρέμματα πρὸς τὰς θυσίας.
8 (3) Ταῦτα Κύρου καταγγείλαντος τοῖς Ἰσραη-
λίταις, ἐξώρμησαν οἱ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἄρχοντες τῆς
Ἰούδα καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος οἵ τε Λευῖται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς
εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ
Βαβυλῶνι, τὰ κτήματα καταλιπεῖν οὐ θέλοντες.
9 καὶ παραγενομένοις αὐτοῖς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι
πάντες ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνεισέφερον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ

[1] ἐγὼ ὃν vel ὃν ἐγὼ FVWE Lat
[2] ἀπέδειξα FVW Lat.: ἀποδείξω E.

[a] This figure is obtained by subtracting the 70-year period of the exile from the 210-year interval (*cf.* above § 5), between Isaiah's prophecy and the first year of Cyrus. It is not wholly consistent, however, with the chronology given earlier by Josephus. Isaiah's prophecy concerning the exile was made 15 years before the end of Hezekiah's reign, according to *Ant.* x. 27 ff. The interval between this prophecy and the

said that God told him in secret, "It is my will that Cyrus, whom I shall have appointed king of many great nations, shall send my people to their own land and build my temple." Isaiah prophesied these things one hundred and forty years before the temple
was demolished.[a] And so, when Cyrus read them, he 1 Esdras ii
wondered at the divine power and was seized by a 5, Ezra i 3
strong desire and ambition to do what had been written; and, summoning the most distinguished of the Jews in Babylon, he told them that he gave them leave to journey to their native land and to rebuild both the city of Jerusalem and the temple of God, for God, he said, would be their ally and he himself would write to his own governors and satraps[b] who were in the neighbourhood of their country to give them contributions of gold and silver for the building of the temple and, in addition, animals for the sacrifices.

The chief Jews return to Jerusalem
1 Esdras ii 8 (LXX 7), Ezra i 5

(3) When Cyrus had made this announcement to the Israelites, the leaders of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin and the Levites and priests set out for Jerusalem, but many remained in Babylon, being unwilling to leave their possessions. On the Israelites' arrival all the king's friends helped them and brought their share for the construction of the temple,[c] some

beginning of the exile or the fall of Jerusalem in the 11th year of Zedekiah's reign was 125 years, not 140 years, according to the regnal figures given by Josephus (*cf. Ant.* x. 143 note *b*). Actually the passage in Is. xliv. about the restoration under Cyrus was made, not by the prophet Isaiah who was a contemporary of Hezekiah in the late 8th century, but by a later prophet (whom modern scholars call Deutero-Isaiah for convenience) living in the 6th (or 5th) century.

[b] Unscriptural detail.

[c] According to Scripture it was the Jews' neighbours in Babylon, not in Judaea, who helped them in this way.

κατασκευὴν οἱ μὲν χρυσὸν οἱ δ' ἄργυρον οἱ δὲ
βοσκημάτων πλῆθος σὺν ἵπποις. καί τάς τε εὐχὰς
ἀπεδίδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰς νομιζομένας κατὰ τὸ
παλαιὸν θυσίας ἐπετέλουν, ὥσπερ ἀνακτιζομένης
αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως[1] καὶ ἀναβιούσης τῆς ἀρχαίας
10 περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν συνηθείας. ἀπέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς
Κῦρος καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ ἃ συλήσας τὸν ναὸν
ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα
11 ἐκόμισεν. παρέδωκεν δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν Μιθριδάτῃ
τῷ γαζοφύλακι αὐτοῦ, προστάξας δοῦναι αὐτὰ
Ἀβασσάρῳ, ὅπως φυλάττῃ μέχρι τῆς οἰκοδομίας
τοῦ ναοῦ, τελεσθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παραδῷ τοῖς
ἱερεῦσιν καὶ ἄρχουσι τοῦ πλήθους, εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπο-
12 δοθησόμενα[2] πέμπει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς
ἐν Συρίᾳ σατράπας Κῦρος τάδε λέγουσαν "βασι-
λεὺς Κῦρος Σισίνῃ[3] καὶ Σαραβασάνῃ χαίρειν
Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ χώρᾳ κατοικούντων ἐπ-
έτρεψα τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπελθοῦσι
πατρίδα[4] τήν τε πόλιν ἀνακτίζειν καὶ τὸν ναὸν
οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ

[1] τῆς πόλεως] πάλιν LAW om. Lat
[2] ἀποδοθησομένοις FL ἀποθησομένοις P
[3] Σισίννῃ LAW
[4] εἰς πατρίδα om PFLAV.

[a] Variants (§§ 93, 100) Sanabasaros, Sanabasarēs, etc, 1 Esdras cod. A Σαναβάσσαρος, cod B Σαναμάσσαρος, Luc. Σασαβαλάσσαρος; Ezra Sheshbazzar (*Šēšbaṣṣar*), LXX cod. A Σασαβάσσαρος, cod. B Σαβανασάρ. Luc Σασαβασσάρης It is not clear from the various references to Sheshbazzar in Ezra whether he was the Persian governor of Judaea (he is called "prince of Judah" in Ezra i 8) or the Jewish leader of the returning exiles. In the latter case he may be identified with Zerubbabel, as is implicitly done by Josephus in § 13 (and also by some modern scholars),

giving gold, others silver, and still others a great many cattle and horses And they made the offerings vowed to God and performed the customary sacrifices in accordance with ancient custom, as if their city were being rebuilt and the ancient form of worship revived Cyrus then sent them the vessels of God which King Nebuchadnezzar had taken as spoil from the temple and carried off to Babylon ; these he gave to his treasurer Mithridates to carry, instructing him to give them to Abassaros [a] to keep until the temple should be built, and upon its being completed to turn them over to the priests and leaders of the people to be deposited in the temple Cyrus also sent a letter to the satraps in Syria, which read as follows [b] " King Cyrus to Sisinēs [c] and Sarabasanēs,[d] greeting. To those among the Jews dwelling in my country, who so wished, I have given permission to return to their native land and [e] to rebuild the city and build the

Cyrus's letter to the satraps in Syria
1 Esdras vi 27, Ezra vi 6

although they are clearly distinguished in 1 Esdras vi. 17 (18) Rabbinic tradition, on the other hand, identifies Zerubbabel with Nehemiah, *cf* Ginzberg iv. 352.

[b] Josephus here alters the scriptural account and anticipates the reference to Cyrus's letter In 1 Esdras vi. = Ezra vi. Scripture says that Darius at the request of the Jews had a search made in the archives and thereupon found Cyrus's letter authorizing the rebuilding of the temple, with specification of its height, materials, etc , Scripture goes on to say that Darius then ordered his western satraps Tatnai and Shethar-boznai (*cf* following notes) to carry out the commands of Cyrus. Thus Josephus supplies, in its proper place, the decree of Cyrus which is mentioned retrospectively in Scripture

[c] 1 Esdras Σισίννῃ, Ezra Tatnai (*Tatt^enay*), LXX cod A Θαθθαναί, cod. B Τανθαναί

[d] 1 Esdras Σαθραβουζάνῃ, Ezra Shethar-boznai, LXX Σαθαρβουζάν (-αναί).

[e] The variant omits " to return to their native land and."

13 αὐτοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗ καὶ πρότερον. κατέπεμψα δέ
μου καὶ τὸν γαζοφύλακα Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ζορο-
βάβηλον τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα θεμελίους
βάλωνται τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οἰκοδομήσωσιν αὐτὸν ὕψος
μὲν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν τῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ εὖρος,
λίθου μὲν ξεστοῦ τρεῖς ποιησάμενοι δόμους καὶ ἕνα
ξύλινον ἐγχώριον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐφ'
14 οὗ θύσουσι[1] τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δὲ εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλομαι. καὶ τὰ σκεύη δέ,
ἃ ἐσύλησεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ
βασιλεύς, ἔπεμψα παραδοὺς Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζο-
φύλακι καὶ Ζοροβαβήλῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν Ἰουδαίων,
ἵνα διακομίσωσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποκατα-
15 στήσωσιν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ δ' ἀριθμὸς
αὐτῶν ἐστιν τοσοῦτος· ψυκτῆρες χρύσεοι πεντή-
κοντα, ἀργύρεοι τετρακόσιοι,[2] θηρίκλεια χρύσεα
πεντήκοντα,[3] ἀργύρεα τετρακόσια,[4] κάδοι χρύσεοι
πεντήκοντα, ἀργύρεοι πεντακόσιοι, σπονδεῖα χρύσεα
τεσσαράκοντα,[5] ἀργύρεα τριακόσια, φιάλαι χρυσαῖ
τριάκοντα, ἀργύρεαι δισχίλιαι τετρακόσιαι, σκεύη
16 τε ἄλλα μεγάλα χίλια. συγχωρῶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
ἐκ προγόνων εἰθισμένην τιμὴν κτηνῶν καὶ οἴνου καὶ
ἐλαίου δραχμὰς εἴκοσιν μυριάδας καὶ πεντακισ-
χιλίας πεντακοσίας καὶ εἰς σεμίδαλιν πυρῶν ἀρ-

[1] V: θύωσι vel θύσωσι rell.
[2] πεντακόσιοι W Lat. (P[2] vid.).
[3] τριάκοντα A: τεσσαράκοντα WE.
[4] πεντακόσια Hudson, Naber.
[5] τριάκοντα AME Lat.

[a] Cf. lxx (1 Esdras and Ezra) Ζοροβαβέλ; bibl. Zerubbabel. On the confusion of Zerubbabel with Sheshbazzar, cf. § 11 note *a*.

temple of God in Jerusalem on the same spot on which it formerly stood. And I have sent there my treasurer Mithridates and Zorobabēlos,[a] the leader of the Jews, to lay the foundations of the temple and build it to a height of sixty cubits and the same breadth and to make the walls of three courses of polished stone and one of the wood of that country, and similarly an altar whereon they may sacrifice to God.[b] The expense for these things I wish to come out of my treasury. I have also sent the vessels which King Nebuchadnezzar took as plunder from the temple, giving them over to my treasurer Mithridates and to Zorobabēlos, the leader of the Jews, to carry to Jerusalem and place them once more in the temple of God. Now the number of these vessels is as follows: fifty wine-coolers of gold and four hundred of silver, fifty Thericleian cups of gold and four hundred of silver, fifty jars of gold and five hundred of silver, forty libation-bowls of gold and three hundred of silver, thirty cups of gold and two thousand four hundred of silver, and a thousand other large vessels.[c] I also grant them the honorary gift which their forefathers used to receive, for cattle, wine and oil two hundred and five thousand five hundred drachmas and twenty thousand

1 Esdras vi. 25, Ezra vi. 3

The temple vessels. 1 Esdras ii. 13 (LXX 12), Ezra i. 9

1 Esdras vi. 29 (LXX 28), Ezra vi. 9

[b] The altar is not mentioned in Scripture.

[c] Josephus's list of vessels is longer than those in 1 Esdras and Ezra, and agrees with them only in two of the last three items. The scriptural lists are as follows:

1 Esdras	Ezra
1000 gold libation-bowls (A.V. "cups")	30 gold chargers
1000 silver libation-bowls	1000 silver ,,
29 silver censers	29 knives
30 gold cups (A.V. "vials")	30 gold basins
2410 silver ,,	410 silver ,,
1000 other vessels	1000 other vessels

τάβας δισμυρίας πεντακοσίας[a] *κελεύω δὲ τὴν τούτων χορηγίαν ἐκ τῶν Σαμαρείας γίνεσθαι*
17 *φόρων*[b] *ἐποίσουσι δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ταῦτα κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ προσφέροντες εὔξονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ σωτηρίας τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἡ Περσῶν βασιλεία διαμείνῃ. τοὺς δὲ παρακούσαντας τούτων καὶ ἀκυρώσαντας ἀνασταυρωθῆναι βούλομαι*
18 *καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἶναι βασιλικάς"* *καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτ' ἐδήλου· τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μυριάδες ἦσαν τέσσαρες καὶ δισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι*[1] *ἑξήκοντα δύο*[2]
19 (ii 1) *Βαλλομένων δὲ τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτοῦ λίαν ἐσπουδακότων, τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Χουθαίων, οὓς ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανάσσης*[3] *ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατῴκισεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, ὅτε τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν, παρεκάλουν τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πρός τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως*
20 *ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν* *οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι διαφθαρέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπημπόλησαν τοῖς Χουθαίοις τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀμελὲς καὶ ῥᾴθυμον τῆς οἰκοδομίας· Κύρῳ γὰρ περί τε ἄλλους*

[1] *τριακόσιοι* Clericus, Naber.
[2] *δύο* om. A Lat.
[3] ex libr. non. Niese: *Σαλ(α)μανασ(σ)άρης* codd.

[a] In 1 Esdras and Ezra salt is included The exact sum of money for cattle and the measure of grain are details invented by Josephus

[b] 1 Esdras "out of the tribute of Coele-Syria (here = Palestine and Syria; *cf.* § 25 note) and Phoenicia", Ezra "out of the king's revenues from beyond the river" (*i.e.* Palestine

five hundred *artabae* of wheat for fine flour.[a] I order these to be furnished out of the tribute from Samaria.[b] And the priests in Jerusalem shall offer these sacrifices in accordance with the laws of Moses and, when they bring them, shall pray to God for the well-being of the king and his family and that the kingdom of Persia may long endure. And it is my will that those who disobey these commands or set them aside shall be crucified and that their possessions shall become the property of the king." These were the contents of the letter. Now the number of those who came to Jerusalem from the land of their captivity was forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.[c]

1 Esdras v. 41; Ezra ii. 64; Neh. vii. 66

(ii. 1) While they were laying the foundations of the temple and very busily engaged in building it, the surrounding nations, especially the Chuthaeans, whom the Assyrian king Salmanassēs[d] had brought from Persia and Media and settled in Samaria when he deported the Israelite people, urged the satraps and those in charge to hinder the Jews in the rebuilding of the city and the construction of the temple. And so, being corrupted by their bribes, they sold their services to the Chuthaeans by showing neglect and indifference toward the Jews in their building. For Cyrus, because of his preoccupation with other

The Samaritans warn the Persians against the Jews. 1 Esdras v. 66 (LXX 63); Ezra iv. 1.

and Syria). Josephus's substitution of "Samaria" seems a deliberate dig at the Samaritans.

ἀσχοληθέντι πολέμους ἄγνοια τούτων ἦν καὶ στρατευσαμένῳ γε ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας εὐθὺς[1] συνέβη τε-
21 λευτῆσαι τὸν βίον Καμβύσου δὲ τοῦ Κύρου παιδὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος οἱ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀμμανίτιδι καὶ Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ γράφουσιν ἐπιστολὴν Καμβύσῃ δηλοῦσαν τάδε·
22 "δέσποτα, οἱ παῖδές[2] σου Ῥάθυμος ὁ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ κριταί. γινώσκειν σε δεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀναχθέντες ἐληλύθασιν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καί τήν τε πόλιν τὴν ἀποστάτιν καὶ πονηρὰν οἰκοδομοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπισκευάζουσι
23 τὰ τείχη καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρουσιν. ἴσθι μέντοι γε τούτων γενομένων οὔτε φόρους αὐτοὺς τελεῖν ὑπομενοῦντας οὔτε δὲ ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀντιστήσονται καὶ ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ
24 ὑπακούειν ἐθελήσουσιν. ἐνεργουμένων οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ σπουδαζομένων καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γράψαι σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν, ὅπως ἐπισκέψῃ τὰ τῶν πατέρων σου βιβλία εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποστάτας καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

[1] ἐκεῖ PWE. [2] δοῦλοι LA.

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[a] *Cf.* Herodotus i. 214

[b] Here Josephus quietly corrects the bibl. chronology of the Persian kings. According to Scripture, the letter which follows (the first letter quoted in the book of Ezra) was written to Artaxerxes. The bibl. account, moreover, makes it appear that Xerxes (Heb. *'Aḥašwērôš*) and Artaxerxes preceded Darius, and passes over Cambyses entirely Josephus's corrections here and elsewhere result in presenting the proper historical sequence, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius (*cf.* § 30), Xerxes (*cf.* § 120) and Artaxerxes (*cf.* § 184).

wars, was in ignorance of these matters and, as it happened, died soon after making war on the Massagetae.[a] But, when Cyrus's son Cambyses took over the royal power,[b] the people in Syria, Phoenicia, Amman, Moab and Samaria wrote a letter which read as follows: "To our sovereign[c] from his servants Rathymos,[d] the recorder of all things that happen,[e] Semelios,[f] the scribe, and the judges of the council in Syria and Phoenicia.[g] You should know, O King, that the Jews who were carried off to Babylon have come to our land and are building their rebellious and mischievous city and its market-places, and are repairing the walls and erecting a temple. Know, therefore, that, if these things are done, they will neither consent to pay tribute nor be willing to obey, but will oppose the kings and seek rather to rule than to obey. Since, then, work is being done on the temple and zealously carried forward, we have thought it proper to write you, O King, and not to overlook these things, in order that you may examine the records of your fathers, for you will find in them that the Jews have been rebels and enemies of the

Their letter to Cambyses (bibl. Artaxerxes) 1 Esdras ii. 16, Ezra iv. 7.

[c] Bibl. Artaxerxes. By omitting the name Josephus avoids the awkwardness of openly correcting Scripture.

[d] So 1 Esdras (cod. B and Luc.; cod. A Ῥαοῦμος); Ezra Rehum (R^e*hûm*).

[e] *Cf.* § 26 note *c*.

[f] *Cf.* 1 Esdras cod. A Σεμέλλιος, cod. B Σαμέλλιος; Ezra Shimshai, LXX cod. A Σαμσαί, cod. B Σαμασά.

[g] So Luc. 1 Esdras (cod. A has κραταιοί "rulers" for κριταί "judges," while cod. B omits the word); in Ezra we have what seems to be a mixed list of titles and ethnic names, the Aram. being corrupt. A.V. renders "the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites, the Dehavites and the Elamites."

ἐχθροὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἣ διὰ
25 τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἠρημώθη. ἔδοξε δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτό
σοι δηλῶσαι ἀγνοούμενον ἴσως, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως
οὕτως συνοικισθείσης καὶ τὸν κύκλον τῶν τειχῶν
ἀπολαβούσης ἀποκλείεταί σοι ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ κοίλην
Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην."
26 (2) Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ
φύσει πονηρὸς ὢν κινεῖται πρὸς τὰ δεδηλωμένα καὶ
γράφει τάδε λέγων· "βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης Ῥαθύμῳ
τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελζέμῳ καὶ
Σεμελίῳ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς συν-
τασσομένοις καὶ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ Φοι-
27 νίκῃ τάδε λέγει. ἀναγνοὺς τὰ πεμφθέντα παρ' ὑμῶν
γράμματα ἐκέλευσα ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ τῶν προ-
γόνων μου βιβλία, καὶ εὑρέθη ἡ πόλις ἐχθρὰ βασι-
λεῦσιν ἀεὶ γεγενημένη, καὶ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους οἱ
ἐνοικοῦντες πραγματευσάμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν
ἔγνωμεν δυνατοὺς καὶ βιαίους φορολογήσαντας
28 κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. ἐγὼ τοίνυν προσ-
έταξα μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀνοικοδομεῖν
τὴν πόλιν, μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐξηθῇ τὰ τῆς κακίας
αὐτῶν, ἣ χρώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατετελέ-

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[a] So 1 Esdras; Ezra has "beyond the river," meaning the land west of the Euphrates. "Coele-Syria" includes 3 different geographical concepts in Hellenistic Greek: (1) the valley between Mt. Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, (2) the region south of Damascus and east of the Jordan, *i.e.* roughly corresponding to modern Transjordania, (3) Palestine and Transjordania together. In this last sense it is often used by Josephus, as well as by other Greek writers, to denote the Ptolemaic possessions in the East in the 3rd century B.C. On the various meanings of the term *cf.* G. Holscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, 1903, pp. 6 ff., 98, U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien in helleni-*

kings, as also their city, which for that reason has been laid waste until now. We have also thought it proper to make this known to you, lest you may perhaps be ignorant of it, namely that, if the city is thus refounded and has its circuit of walls restored, the road to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia [a] will be closed to you."

Cambyses' reply to the Samaritans. 1 Esdras ii. 25 (LXX 21), Ezra iv. 17

(2) When Cambyses read this letter, being naturally bad,[b] he was aroused by its contents and wrote as follows. "Thus says King Cambyses to Rathymos, the recorder of events, and Beelzemos [c] and Semelios, the scribe, and the rest of their colleagues resident in Samaria [d] and Phoenicia. After reading the letter sent by you, I ordered the records of my forefathers to be examined, and it was found that that city has always been hostile to the kings and that the inhabitants have been engaged in rebellions and wars; and we have learned that their kings, being powerful and violent men, have levied tribute on Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. I have therefore given orders that the Jews shall not be permitted to rebuild the city, lest the amount of mischief which they have continually contrived against the kings be further increased."

stischer Zeit, 1926, pp. 6 ff., 96 ff., W. Otto in *ABAW*, phil.-hist. Kl., xxxiv. 1, 1928, pp. 30 ff., and A. Jones in *JRS* xxv., 1935, p. 229.

[b] Unscriptural detail.

[c] *Cf.* 1 Esdras Ῥαούμῳ τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Βεελτεέμῳ (*v.l.* Βεελτεθμῷ). The Aramaic text of Ezra gives *b*ᵉʿ*ēl-t*ᵉʿ*ēm* as a title of Rehum (Rathymos), meaning something like "chancellor." Josephus, following 1 Esdras here, both translates it and transliterates it as a personal name ("Rathymos, the recorder of events, and Beelzemos"), with the result that we have three persons addressed by Artaxerxes (Cambyses) instead of the two named in Scripture (namely Rehum and Shimshai) and in § 22.

[d] 1 Esdras adds "and Syria."

29 κασιν." τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ
Ῥάθυμος καὶ Σεμέλιος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ τούτοις
συντεταγμένοι παραχρῆμα ἐπιπηδήσαντες ἵπποις
ἔσπευσαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενοι πολύ,
καὶ διεκώλυσαν οἰκοδομεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὴν
30 πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναόν καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεσχέθη τὰ
ἔργα μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς Δαρείου βασι-
λείας τῶν[1] Περσῶν ἐπ' ἄλλα ἔτη ἐννέα Καμβύσης
γὰρ ἓξ ἔτη βασιλεύσας καὶ καταστρεψάμενος ἐν
τούτοις τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν
Δαμασκῷ.[a]
31 (iii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν μάγων ἀναίρεσιν, οἳ
μετὰ τὸν Καμβύσου θάνατον τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν
ἐνιαυτῷ κατέσχον, οἱ λεγόμενοι ἑπτὰ οἶκοι τῶν
Περσῶν τὸν Ὑστάσπου παῖδα Δαρεῖον ἀπέδειξαν
βασιλέα οὗτος ἰδιώτης ὢν ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ, εἰ
γένοιτο βασιλεύς, πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα
ἦν ἔτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, πέμψειν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν
32 Ἱεροσολύμοις. ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν
ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ζορο-
βάβηλος, ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Ἰουδαίων ἡγεμὼν
ἀπεδέδεικτο· πάλαι γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ φιλία πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα, δι' ἣν καὶ σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν μετ'
ἄλλων δύο κριθεὶς ἄξιος ἀπέλαυεν ἧς ἤλπισε[2] τιμῆς.
33 (2) Τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει Δαρεῖος
ὑποδέχεται λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς

[1] V: τοῦ rell. [2] ἤλπιζε AWE.

[a] On the death of Cambyses (not, of course, mentioned in Scripture) *cf.* Herodotus iii. 64, according to whom it occurred at Agbatana (=Hamath ?) in Syria: *cf.* further E. Herzfeld in *Indian and Iranian Studies Presented to George A. Grierson* (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, viii.), 1936, pp 589-597.

When this letter was read by them, Rathymos and Semelios, the scribe, and their colleagues immediately leaped on their horses and, accompanied by a large number of people, hastened to Jerusalem and prevented the Jews from building the city and the temple. And so these works were stopped for nine years more until the second year of Darius's reign over Persia. For Cambyses after a reign of six years, during which he conquered Egypt, returned from there and died in Damascus.[a]

Darius and Zerubbabel (Zorobabelos)

(iii. 1) After the killing of the Magi who held power in Persia for the year following the death of Cambyses, the so-called "seven houses" of the Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king.[b] While still a private citizen, he had vowed to God that, if he became king, he would send all the vessels of God which were still in Babylon to the temple in Jerusalem.[c] Now at that time there happened to come to Darius from Jerusalem Zorobabēlos, who had been appointed governor of the Jewish captives, for there was an old friendship between him and the king, and having been on that account judged worthy of a place in the king's bodyguard together with two others, he was enjoying an honour for which he had hoped.[d]

The contest of Darius's guards. 1 Esdras iii. 1.

(2) In the first year of his reign[e] Darius gave a splendid entertainment with great display for his

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus iii. 71.

[c] *Cf.* 1 Esdras iv. 43 f.

[d] The preceding section, on Zerubbabel's visit to Darius, is the invention of Josephus written to reconcile the scriptural account of Zerubbabel's activity as leader of the Jews in Jerusalem (Ezra ch. iv.) with the Apocryphal story of Zerubbabel at the court of Darius (1 Esdras ch. iii. ff.), which Josephus relates in what follows.

[e] Detail not found in 1 Esdras.

τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς οἴκοι γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μήδων ἡγεμόνας καὶ σατράπας τῆς Περσίδος[1] καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς[2] Ἰνδικῆς ἄχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι
34 καὶ ἑπτὰ σατραπειῶν ἐπεὶ δὲ κατευωχηθέντες ἄχρι κόρου καὶ πλησμονῆς ἀνέλυσαν κοιμηθησόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι, Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην καὶ βραχὺ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναπαυσάμενος ἔξυπνος γίνεται, καὶ μηκέτι κατακοιμηθῆναι δυνάμενος εἰς ὁμιλίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν
35 τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ τῷ λόγον ἐροῦντι περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἀνακρίνειν μέλλει τὸν ἀληθέστατον καὶ συνετώτατον,[3] τούτῳ γέρας δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται νικητήριον πορφύραν ἐνδύεσθαι[4] καὶ ἐν ἐκπώμασι χρυσοῖς πίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσίου καθεύδειν καὶ ἅρμα χρυσοχάλινον καὶ κίδαριν βυσσίνην καὶ περιαυχένιον χρύσεον, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕξειν προεδρίαν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν "καὶ συγγενής μου," ἔφη, "κληθή-
36 σεται[5]" ταύτας ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν τὰς δωρεὰς ἐρωτᾷ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον εἰ ὁ οἶνος ὑπερισχύει, τὸν δεύτερον δέ, εἰ οἱ βασιλεῖς, τὸν τρίτον δέ, εἰ αἱ γυναῖκες ἢ τούτων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλή-

[1] τῶν Περσῶν WE Lat
[2] ἀπὸ τῆς ex LXX Naber
[3] ἀληθέστατον καὶ συνετώτατον WE. ἀληθέστερον καὶ συνετώτερον rell.
[4] ἐνδύσεσθαι PF · ἐνδύσασθαι LV
[5] — καὶ περίοπτος διαδόξαν ἔσεται P.

[a] Or "governors," cf 1 Esdras, "to all the satraps and governors (στρατηγοῖς) and toparchs under him from India to Ethiopia in the 127 satrapies"

[b] So 1 Esdras. The 127 satrapies are also mentioned in the book of Esther (i. 1), of which this section in 1 Esdras is

court and those born in his house and the governors of Media, the satraps of Persia and the toparchs of the countries from India to Ethiopia, and the generals [a] of the one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies [b] And, when they had feasted to satiety and repletion, they departed, each one going to his own house to sleep; and King Darius went to his bed, but, after resting a brief part of the night, he awoke and, being unable to sleep any longer, fell to talking with his three bodyguards. To him who should give the truest and most intelligent speech on the subject about which he would question them, he promised to give as the prize of victory purple garments to wear, gold cups to drink from a gold bed to sleep on and a chariot with a bridle of gold, a head-dress of fine linen and a necklace of gold, and also to have the chief place after the king because of his wisdom, "and," he said, "he shall be called my Kinsman" After offering to bestow these gifts, he asked the first whether wine was the strongest thing, and the second whether kings were, and the third whether women were, or whether truth was strongest of all When he had

reminiscent Actually there were only some 20 satrapies in the reign of Darius, *cf* G B Gray, *CAH* iv 195 T Reinach, in his note on this passage in Josephus, remarks that the Seleucids inaugurated a system of smaller provinces, and refers to the 120 satraps (A V "princes") mentioned in Daniel vi 1 It is doubtful, however, whether there was anything like so large a number of provinces (in the sense of large administrative units) in the Seleucid empire, *cf* M Rostovtzeff in *CAH* vii 166 note 1, "Appian, *Syr* 62, gives the number of satrapies as seventy-two, but if we put together the data of historians and inscriptions we cannot make up more than twenty-five We must assume that Appian has counted as satrapies smaller units properly called *hyparchiae* in Asia Minor and Media Atropatene, *merides* in Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine."

θεια. ταῦτα προθεὶς αὐτοῖς ζητεῖν ἡσύχασεν.
37 ὄρθρου δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ σατράπας καὶ τοπάρχας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ Μηδικῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐν ᾧ χρηματίζειν εἰώθει τόπῳ,[1] τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσε πάντων ἀκουόντων ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων.

38 (3) Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἤρξατο λέγειν τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν, οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζων· "ἄνδρες," γὰρ εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ οἴνου τεκμαιρόμενος, πάντα ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὑρίσκω τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ·
39 σφάλλει τε γὰρ τῶν πινόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπατᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ καὶ δεομένου κηδεμόνος ὁμοίαν τίθησιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου διεγείρει πρὸς παρρησίαν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἥ τε τοῦ πένητος ὁμοία γίνεται τῇ τοῦ πλουσίου
40 μεταποιεῖ γὰρ καὶ μεταγεννᾷ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγενόμενος, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν συμφορᾷ καθεστηκότων σβέννυσι τὸ λυποῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλότρια χρέα λαβόντας εἰς λήθην ἄγει καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἁπάντων πλουσιωτάτους, ὡς μηδὲν μικρὸν φθέγγεσθαι, ταλάντων δὲ μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν τοῖς
41 εὐδαίμοσι προσηκόντων ὀνομάτων ἔτι γε μὴν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἀναισθήτους ἀπεργάζεται καὶ φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἐξαιρεῖ[2] μνήμην· ὁπλίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ
42 δοκεῖν ποιεῖ πάντων ἀλλοτριωτάτους. καὶ ὅταν νήψαντες τύχωσι καὶ καταλίπῃ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ οἶνος κοιμωμένους, ἀνίστανται μηδὲν ὧν

[1] *τόπῳ* om. PFW. [2] *ἐξαίρει* P¹FLAV.

[a] Josephus's version of the contest differs from that of

set these questions for them to examine, he took his rest. Then in the morning he summoned the nobles, satraps and toparchs of Persia and Media, and, taking his seat in the place where he was wont to give judgement, he bade each of the bodyguards give his opinion on the matters in question in the hearing of all [a]

(3) And the first began to speak on the power of wine, describing it as follows "Sirs," he said, "when I estimate the strength of wine, I find that it surpasses all things in the following way. It misleads and deceives those who drink it, and causes the king's understanding to be like that of an orphan or one who needs a guardian. It stirs up the mind of the slave to the outspokenness of the free man, while that of the poor man becomes similar to the rich man's. For it remakes and regenerates their souls when it enters them, and drowns the sorrow of those overtaken by misfortune, while to those who are in debt to others it brings forgetfulness and makes them think themselves the richest of all men, so that they do not mention any small sum but speak only of talents and such denominations as are familiar to the prosperous. Moreover, it makes men unaware of commanders and kings, and takes away their memory of friends and companions. For it arms men against even their best friends, and makes these seem more complete strangers than any others. Then, when they become sober and the wine has left them during their night's sleep, they arise knowing nothing of what

The first guard praises wine 1 Esdras iii 17 (LXX 16).

1 Esdras (iii 4-17), according to which the three guards arrange the terms of the contest while Darius is asleep, and themselves suggest what the prize shall be, and write down their answers for Darius to read when he awakes ; on awaking, he reads their answers and summons his nobles to hear each of the guards speak in support of his answer.

ἔπραξαν παρὰ τὴν μέθην εἰδότες τούτοις ἐγὼ
τεκμαιρόμενος εὑρίσκω τὸν οἶνον ὑπερκρατοῦντα
πάντων καὶ βιαιότατον."
43 (4) Ὡς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἀποφηνάμενος περὶ τῆς
ἰσχύος τοῦ οἴνου τὰ προειρημένα ἐπαύσατο, ὁ μετ'
αὐτὸν ἤρξατο λέγειν περὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνά-
μεως, ταύτην ἀποδεικνὺς ἰσχυροτάτην[1] καὶ πλέον
τῶν ἄλλων δυναμένην, ὅσα βίαν ἔχειν ἢ σύνεσιν
δοκεῖ τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἐντεῦθεν
44 ἐλάμβανεν ἁπάντων μὲν εἶπεν ἀνθρώπους περι-
κρατεῖν, οἳ καὶ τὴν γῆν καταναγκάζουσι καὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν εἶναι χρησίμην αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἃ θέλουσι,
" τούτων δ' ἄρχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
ἔχουσιν οἱ δὲ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἰσχυροτάτου ζῴου
δεσπόζοντες ἀνυπέρβλητοι τὴν δύναμιν οὗτοι καὶ
45 τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰκότως ἂν εἶεν ἀμέλει πολέμους ἐπι-
τάττοντες καὶ κινδύνους τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀκούονται,
καὶ πέμποντες αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς καταπειθεῖς διὰ
τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὄρη μὲν κατεργά-
ζεσθαι καὶ τείχη κατασπᾶν καὶ πύργους κελεύουσι,
καὶ κτείνεσθαι δ' οἱ κελευσθέντες καὶ κτείνειν
ὑπομένουσιν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δόξωσι
παραβαίνειν προστάγματα, νικήσαντες δὲ τὴν ὠφέ-
λειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν.
46 καὶ οἱ μὴ στρατευόμενοι δέ, ἀλλὰ γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι
καὶ ἀροῦντες, ὅταν πονήσαντες καὶ ἅπασαν τὴν τῶν
ἔργων ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομείναντες θερίσωσι καὶ τοὺς
καρποὺς συνέλωσι, τοὺς φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ κομί-
47 ζουσιν. ὃ δ' ἂν οὗτος εἴπῃ καὶ κελεύσῃ τοῦτο
ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ὑπερβαλλομένων γίνεται ἔπειθ'[2]
ὁ μὲν τρυφῆς ἁπάσης καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενος

they have done during their drunkenness. Judging by these things, I find that wine is the strongest and most forceful of all things."

(4) When the first had given the above views on the strength of wine and ceased speaking, the next began to speak on the power of the king, showing that it was the strongest and most powerful of all things that seem to have force or sense. He took the following line of demonstration. Men have power over all things, he said, for they compel the earth and the sea to be of use to them in whatever way they wish,[2] and they, in turn, are ruled by kings, since these have the authority. Now, that those who are masters of the strongest and mightiest of living things should therefore be of unsurpassed power and strength is only reasonable. Certain it is that when they impose war and danger upon their subjects they are obeyed and, when they send them against the enemy, they obtain obedience through their strength. They order them to level mountains and pull down walls and towers. When men are ordered to be killed and to kill, they submit, in order that they may not seem to transgress the king's commands, and, when they have won a victory, they bring the spoils of war to the king. And as for those who are not soldiers but till the soil and plough, when, after toiling and enduring all the hardships of their work, they have reaped and gathered in the fruits, they bring their tribute to the king. Whatever he says and commands is done of necessity without any delay. Furthermore, when he goes to sleep after taking his fill of every luxury and

The second guard praises the king
1 Esdras iv. 1

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[1] *τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην* codd.
[2] *ἔτι* A: *ἔτι θ'* Niese.

καθεύδει, φυλάσσεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐγρηγορότων καὶ
48 ὡσανεὶ δεδεμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου· καταλιπεῖν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἷς τολμᾷ κοιμώμενον οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναχωρήσας ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἓν ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἀναγκαῖον τὸ φυλάττειν τὸν βασιλέα, τούτῳ προσμένει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς δόξειε τὴν πάντων ἰσχὺν ὑπερβάλλειν, ᾧ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πείθεται κελεύοντι."

49 (5) Σιωπήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, περὶ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τρίτος Ζοροβάβηλος διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο, λέγων οὕτως· "ἰσχυρὸς μὲν καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ᾧ πάντες ὑπακούουσιν, ἀλλὰ κρείττους τὴν δύναμιν τούτων αἱ
50 γυναῖκες· τόν τε γὰρ βασιλέα γυνὴ παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, καὶ τοὺς φυτεύσαντας ἀμπέλους αἳ ποιοῦσι τὸν οἶνον γυναῖκές εἰσιν αἱ τίκτουσαί τε καὶ τρέφουσαι. καθόλου δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ παρὰ τούτων ἔχομεν· καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας αὗται ὑφαίνουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ κατ' οἶκον διὰ ταύτας ἐπιμελείας
51 καὶ φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦται. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀποζευχθῆναι γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν πολὺν κτησάμενοι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων, ὅταν ἴδωμεν εὔμορφον γυναῖκα, πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀφέντες τῷ εἴδει τῆς ὁραθείσης προσκεχήναμεν καὶ ὑπομένομεν παραχωρῆσαι τῶν ὄντων ἡμῖν, ἵνα τοῦ κάλλους ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ
52 μεταλάβωμεν. ἐγκαταλείπομεν δὲ καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας[1] καὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην γῆν καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων πολλάκις λήθην ἔχομεν διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰς

[1] *καὶ μητέρας* om. PFWE Lat.

[a] It is generally recognized by biblical scholars that the

pleasure, he is guarded by men who keep awake and are, as it were, chained to their post by fear, for while he sleeps no one dares to leave him or withdraw to attend to his own affairs but, holding only one task to be imperative, namely that of guarding the king, he devotes himself to that. How, then, should the king not seem to surpass all others in strength when so great a number of men obey his commands?"

(5) When this one too was silent, the third, Zorobabelos, began to discourse on women and truth,[a] speaking as follows: "Wine and the king, whom all obey, are, to be sure, very strong, but greater in power than these are women. For it is a woman who brings a king into the world, and it is women who bear and bring up those who plant vines which produce wine. In short, there is nothing which we do not get from them. For it is they who weave our clothes for us, and it is through them that the affairs of the household receive due care and attention. And it is impossible for us to be separated from women, for when, after acquiring a large sum of gold and silver and other things of great value and importance, we see a beautiful woman, we let all these things go at the appearance of such a person and stare at her open-mouthed and submit to yielding our possessions, in order to enjoy and partake of her beauty. We even leave our fathers and mothers[b] and the land which nourished us, and often become forgetful of our best friends for the sake of women, and we have

Zerubbabel praises women. 1 Esdras iv. 13.

original of the story in 1 Esdras must have made "women" the third (and correct) answer to the question "What is most powerful of all things?", and that the pious writer of the Apocryphal account has given this popular tale a moral by bringing in Truth.

[b] The variant omits "and mothers."

ψυχὰς ἀφιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν καρτεροῦμεν[1] οὕτως δ' ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν γυναικῶν καταν οήσαιτε
53 οὐχὶ πονοῦντες καὶ πᾶσαν ταλαιπωρίαν ὑπομένοντες καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅταν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων περιγένηταί τινα, αὐτὰ φέροντες ὡς δεσποί-
54 ναις ταῖς γυναιξὶ διδόαμεν, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα δὲ τὸν τοσούτων κύριον εἶδόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαβεζάκου τοῦ Θεμασίου[2] παιδὸς Ἀπάμης παλλακῆς δ' αὐτοῦ ῥαπιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφαιρουμένης καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ περιτιθείσης ἀνεχόμενον καὶ μειδιώσης μὲν μειδιῶντα ὀργιζομένης δὲ σκυθρωπάζοντα καὶ τῇ τῶν παθῶν μεταβολῇ κολακεύοντα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ διαλλάττοντα αὐτὴν[3] ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα ταπεινὸν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, εἴ ποτε δυσχεραίνουσαν ἔβλεπεν."
55 (6) Εἰς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἀφορώντων τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἤρξατο λέγειν "ἀπέδειξα μέν," εἰπών, "ὅσον ἰσχύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀσθενέστεραι δ' ὅμως καὶ αὗται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπάρχουσιν. εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γῆ μεγίστη καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ταχὺς ὁ ἥλιος,[4] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κινεῖται κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθινὸς δέ ἐστιν οὗτος καὶ δίκαιος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἰσχυροτάτην ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ ἄδικον δυνά-
56 μενον. ἔτι γε μὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θνητὰ καὶ ὠκύμορα

[1] ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ καρτεροῦμεν LA
[2] Θαιμασίου LA. Θαυμασίου WE: Themasi Lat
[3] αὐτὴν om FLAV.
[4] ταχὺς ὁ ἥλιος E: ταχὺς FVW Lat et P[1] vid: ταχὺς τῷ δρόμῳ ὁ ἥλιος LA (*cf.* LXX).

[a] 1 Esdras codd. A, B Βαρτάκου, Luc. Βαζάκου
[b] Variants Thaimasios, Thaumasios, 1 Esdras τοῦ Θαυμα-

the courage to lose our lives by their side. But you may most clearly perceive the strength of women from the fact that when, after labouring and enduring all kinds of hardship both by land and by sea, we have gained something from these labours, we bring it to women as to our mistresses and give it to them. Even the king, who is the lord of so many men, I once saw being slapped by his concubine Apamē, the daughter of Rabezakos[a] Themasios,[b] and putting up with it when she took the diadem away from him and placed it on her own head, smiling when she smiled, and looking serious when she was angry, flattering the woman according to her change of feelings,[c] and, if he happened to see her displeased, appeasing her by making himself very humble."

(6) Then, while the satraps and governors looked at one another, he began to speak on truth, saying, "I have now shown how great is the strength of women, but none the less both they and the king are weaker than truth. For, although the earth is very great and the heavens high and the sun swift, yet all these move in accordance with the will of God, and, since He is true and just, we must for the same reason believe truth also to be the strongest thing, against which no injustice can prevail. Furthermore, all other things that possess strength are by nature

Zerubbabel next praises truth. 1 Esdras iv. 33.

στοῦ (which may be either a personal name or an epithet—"the illustrious Bartakos"). For various conjectures as to the identity of this possibly historical figure *cf.* C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 1910, pp. 40 ff., and S. A. Cook in R. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.* i. 31 note 29. It may be added that a similar name, Thamasios, occurs in Herodotus vii. 194.

[c] Or, less probably, "flattering the woman by his change of feeling."

εἶναι συμβέβηκε τῶν ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων, ἀθάνατον δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια χρῆμα καὶ ἀίδιον παρέχει δ' ἡμῖν οὐ κάλλος χρόνῳ μαραινόμενον οὐδὲ περιουσίαν ἀφαιρετὴν ὑπὸ τύχης[1] ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ νόμιμα, διακρίνουσα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἄδικα καὶ ἀπελέγχουσα."

57 (7) Καταπαύει[2] μὲν ὁ Ζοροβάβηλος τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον, ἐπιβοήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἄριστα εἰπόντος, καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἰσχὺν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀγήρω μόνον ἔχοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰτήσασθαί τι πάρεξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν ὑπεσχημένος· δώσειν γὰρ ὄντι σοφῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον φανέντι συνετῷ· "συγκαθεσθήσῃ δέ μοι," φησίν,
58 "καὶ κεκλήσῃ[3] συγγενὴς ἐμός." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐχῆς ἧς ἐποιήσατο, εἰ λάβοι τὴν βασιλείαν αὕτη δ' ἦν ἀνοικοδομῆσαι μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα, κατασκευάσαι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ναόν, ἀποκαταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη ὅσα συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκόμισεν "καὶ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "τοὐμὸν αἴτημά ἐστιν, ὅ μοι νῦν ἐπιτρέπεις αἰτήσασθαι κριθέντι σοφῷ καὶ συνετῷ"[4]

59 (8) Ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναστὰς κατεφίλησέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς τοπάρχαις καὶ σατράπαις γράφει κελεύων προπέμψαι τὸν Ζοροβάβηλον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν
60 ἐξιέναι τοῦ ναοῦ. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ

[1] + ἐν καιρῷ LA.
[2] καὶ praem. LAVW.
[3] κληθήσῃ FLAV.
[4] συνετωτάτῳ PFVW.

[a] Details ("beauty . . . not wealth") not found in 1 Esdras

mortal and short-lived, but truth is a thing immortal and eternal. And it gives us, not beauty, that fades with time, nor wealth, of which fortune may rob us,[a] but what is just and lawful, and from this it keeps away injustice and puts it to shame."

(7) And so Zorobabēlos ended his speech on truth, whereupon the assembly acclaimed him as the best speaker, saying that it was truth alone which had unchanging and unaging strength.[b] And the king directed him to ask for something beyond what he himself had promised, for, he said, he would give it to him for being wise and showing himself more intelligent than the others. "You shall," he added, "be seated next to me and be called my Kinsman." When the king had said this, Zorobabēlos reminded him of what he had vowed to do if he obtained the throne: this was to rebuild Jerusalem and construct the temple of God there and restore the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken as spoil to Babylon. "And this," he said, "is the request which you have just permitted me to make for being judged wise and intelligent."[c]

(8) Being pleased with these words, the king arose and kissed him; and he wrote to the toparchs and satraps,[d] ordering them to escort Zorobabēlos and those who were to go with him to build the temple. He also wrote to those in Syria and Phoenicia, order-

[b] 1 Esdras, "Great is truth and it prevails" (this famous sentence is often misquoted as "Great is truth and it will prevail"); A.V. renders "Great is truth and mighty above all things."

[c] Variant "most intelligent." This detail is not found in 1 Esdras.

[d] Josephus omits the "stewards (οἰκονόμους) and governors (στρατηγούς)" mentioned in 1 Esdras.

καὶ Φοινίκῃ ξύλα κέδρινα κατακομίζειν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τεμόντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας ἔγραψεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τῶν αἰχμα-
61 *λώτων ἀπελθόντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ σατράπας ἐκώλυσεν ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας, ἀνῆκέ τε πᾶσαν ἣν ἂν κατασχεῖν δυνηθῶσι τῆς χώρας ἀτελῆ φόρων αὐτοὺς νέμεσθαι προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας[1] ἃς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατεῖχον, καὶ προσέτι τάλαντα πεντήκοντα εἰς τὴν*
62 *οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι, θύειν τε αὐτοῖς τὰς νενομισμένας ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε δὲ[2] καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν, ᾗ θεραπεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ ὄργανα*
63 *οἷς ὑμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προσέταξε κλήρους γῆς δοθῆναι, καὶ κατὰ ἕκαστον ἔτος ὡρισμένον τι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν ἀργύριον, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ πάντα ὅσα Κῦρος πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐβουλήθη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκαταστάσεως, ταῦτα καὶ Δαρεῖος διετάξατο.*

[1] *χώρας* F[1]VA[2].

[2] *ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε δὲ* A · *θυσίας ἐπέτρεψε δὲ* (*δὲ* om P) PFLV. *ἐπέτρεψε θυσίας* E

[a] 1 Esdras "stewards." Josephus's term *ἐπίτροπος* is commonly used in the Greek literature of the Roman period to translate Latin *procurator*, the title of the emperor's financial representative in the provinces. In the earlier (Hellenistic) period it is sometimes used as a synonym of *διοικητής*, the title of the finance-minister in Ptolemaic Egypt.

ing them to cut cedar wood from Lebanon and send it down to Jerusalem and aid him in building the city. And he decreed that all those captives returning to Judaea should be free. He also forbade his procurators[a] and satraps to require of the Jews any services to the king, and he gave permission for them to live, without payment of tribute, on as much of the land as they could occupy. And he also commanded the Idumaeans and Samaritans and those in Coele-Syria[b] to give up the villages[c] which they had taken from the Jews and now held, and that an additional fifty[d] talents should be given for the building of the temple. He allowed them to offer the customary sacrifices, and allowed all the charges, including that of the sacred vestments in which the high priest and the priests worshipped God, to come out of his own treasury; he commanded that the Levites should be given the instruments with which they sang the praises of God,[e] and the guards of the city and the temple allotments of land as well as a fixed sum of silver yearly[f] for the necessities of life, and also that the vessels for the temple should be sent. Whatever Cyrus before him had wished to be done for the restoration of the temple, all this did Darius decree.

[b] Only the Idumaeans are mentioned in most MSS. of 1 Esdras (for "Idumaeans" cod. B has "Chaldaeans"). On Josephus's motive in adding the Samaritans cf. § 16 note *b*.

[c] Variant "countries" or "territories."

[d] 1 Esdras 20. Josephus, moreover, omits the "10 talents yearly for the daily burnt-offerings" mentioned in the next verse in 1 Esdras.

[e] The instruments are not mentioned in 1 Esdras, which has "provisions" (χορηγίαν).

[f] For "fixed sum of silver yearly" 1 Esdras has "wages" (ὀψώνια).

64 (9) Τυχὼν οὖν τούτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ζορο-
βάβηλος ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ[1] τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ἀνα-
βλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχαριστεῖν ἤρξατο τῷ θεῷ
τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ νίκης, ἣν Δαρείου
παρόντος ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀξιωθῆναι " μὴ
65 σοῦ," φησί, " δέσποτα, τυχὼν εὐμενοῦς." ταῦτ'
οὖν περὶ τῶν παρόντων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ
πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα δεηθεὶς αὐτὸν παρέχειν ὅμοιον,
ἧκεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις εὐηγγελίσατο
66 τὰ παρὰ[2] τοῦ βασιλέως. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εὐ-
χαριστοῦσι μὲν τῷ θεῷ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντι
τὴν πάτριον γῆν, εἰς δὲ πότον καὶ κώμους
τραπέντες ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διήγαγον εὐωχούμενοι
καὶ τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος
67 ἑορτάζοντες. ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀναβησομένους εἰς τὰ
Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῶν πατριῶν καὶ φυλῶν[3]
σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ἐπελέξαντο,
οἳ Δαρείου συμπέμψαντος ἕως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
ὥδευον μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τρυφῆς, ψαλλόμενοι καὶ
καταυλούμενοι καὶ περιψοφούμενοι τοῖς κυμβάλοις.
προέπεμψε[4] δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον τῶν
Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος μετὰ παιδιᾶς.
68 (10) Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπῄεσαν ἐξ ἑκάστης
πατριᾶς ἀριθμὸς ὄντες ὡρισμένος· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ
ἔδοξε τὰ τῶν πατριῶν καταλέγειν ὀνόματα, ἵνα μὴ
τὴν τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων διάνοιαν τῆς συναφῆς τῶν
πραγμάτων ἀποσπάσας δυσπαρακολούθητον αὐτοῖς
69 ποιήσω τὴν διήγησιν. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀπερχο-

[1] ἐκ WE.
[2] Zonaras, ed. pr.: περὶ codd. E.
[3] πατριῶν καὶ φυλῶν conj.: πατρίων φυλῶν codd.: tribuum Lat.: πατριῶν Niese.

(9) And so, having obtained these favours from the king, Zorobabēlos went out from the palace and, looking up to heaven, began to return thanks to God for his wisdom and for the victory which he had obtained through it in the presence of Darius. For, he said, he would not have been granted these things, "if I had not, O Lord, found favour with Thee." And so, having thus returned thanks to God for His present favours and besought Him to show Himself similarly favourable in the future, he came to Babylon and brought to his countrymen the good news from [a] the king. When they had heard it, they returned thanks to God for giving them back the land of their fathers and gave themselves up to drinking and revelry, and spent seven days in feasting and celebrating the recovery and rebirth of their native land. Then they selected from the families and tribes [b] the leaders who were to go up to Jerusalem with their wives and children and beasts of burden, and these, with an escort sent by Darius to take them as far as Jerusalem, went their way with joy and ease to the sound of harps and flutes and the clashing of cymbals. They were also sent on their way with merriment by a crowd of those Jews who were left behind.

Zerubbabel announces the joyful news to the Jews 1 Esdras iv. 58.

(10) Thus, then, did they depart, from each family a fixed number. But I have thought it better not to give a list of the names of the families lest I distract the minds of my readers from the connexion of events and make the narrative difficult for them to follow. However, the total number of those who went from

The number of exiles returning to Jerusalem

[a] Variant "about."

[b] Emended text; MSS. "from the country's tribes."

[4] V: προέπεμπε rell.

μένων περὶ[1] *ἔτη δώδεκα τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότων ἐκ*
τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἦν μυριάδες
τέσσαρες[2] *τετρακόσιαι ἑξήκοντα δύο καὶ ὀκτακισ-*
χίλιοι, Λευῖται δὲ τέσσαρες[3] *καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα,*
γυναικῶν δὲ ἀναμὶξ καὶ νηπίων σώματα ἦν τε-
70 *τρακισμύρια ἑπτακόσια τεσσαράκοντα δύο πάρεξ*
δὲ τούτων Λευῖται μὲν ἦσαν ὑμνῳδοὶ ἑκατὸν
εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, πυλωροὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν δέκα,[4] *δοῦλοι δὲ*
ἱεροὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνενήκοντα δύο, ἄλλοι τε πρὸς
τούτοις λέγοντες μὲν εἶναι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐ
δυνάμενοι δὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἑξακόσιοι
71 *πεντήκοντα*[5] *δύο. ἐξεβλήθησαν δέ τινες καὶ τῶν*
ἱερέων ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας ὧν οὔτ'
αὐτοὶ τὸ γένος εἶχον εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς γενεα-
λογίαις τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ ἱερέων εὑρέθησαν ὡς[6]
72 *πεντακόσιοι καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ δὲ τῶν*
θεραπόντων πλῆθος εἵπετο τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα ἑπτακισχιλίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα
ἑπτά, ψάλται δὲ καὶ ψάλτριαι διακόσιοι τεσσα-
ράκοντα πέντε, κάμηλοι τετρακόσιαι τριάκοντα
πέντε, ὑποζύγια δὲ πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια εἴκοσι
73 *πέντε ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς κατηριθμημένης πληθύος*
ἦν ὁ Σαλαθιήλου παῖς Ζοροβάβηλος ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν

[1] *ὑπὲρ* Hudson.
[2] *μυριάδες τέσσαρες* ex LXX Ernesti: *μυριάδες* codd
[3] quattuor milia Lat
[4] *δεκαδύο* LA. [5] *ἑξήκοντα* WE.
[6] WE: *ἦσαν δὲ ὡς* rell

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[a] *Cf.* § 133

[b] Lit. "about", Hudson reads *ὑπὲρ* "above" (*cf.* 1 Esdras "from").

[c] Emended text; MSS. read literally "myriads four hundred sixty-two and eight thousand" which apparently is to

the tribes of Judah and Benjamin[a] and were at least[b] twelve years of age was forty-eight thousand four hundred and sixty-two.[c] There were also seventy-four Levites and a mixed number of women and children amounting to forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two.[d] Beside these there were one hundred and twenty-eight Levite singers, one hundred and ten[e] porters, three hundred and ninety-two[f] temple servants and, in addition, six hundred and fifty-two others, who said that they were of Israelite stock but were unable to prove their descent. Some of the priests also were expelled from office for having married wives whose descent they themselves could not tell and who could not be found in the genealogies of Levites and priests; of these there were some five hundred and twenty-five.[g] The number of servants who accompanied those going up to Jerusalem was seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven, and there were two hundred and forty-five[h] men and women musicians, four hundred and thirty-five camels and five thousand five hundred and twenty-five beasts of burden.[i] The leaders of the host here enumerated were: Zorobabēlos, son of Salathiēlos,[j] who was of the tribe of Judah, being one of the

1 Esdras v. 41, Ezra ii. 64.

1 Esdras v. 26, Ezra ii. 40.

1 Esdras v. 5, Ezra ii. 2.

be summed as 4,628,000 (multiplying 10,000 by 462 and adding 8000). But even the emended text differs from 1 Esdras and Ezra, which have 42,360.

[d] No number is given for the women and children in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

[e] 1 Esdras and Ezra 139.

[f] So Ezra: 1 Esdras 372.

[g] No such number is given for the rejected priests in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

[h] So 1 Esdras; Ezra 200.

[i] So 1 Esdras; Ezra 6720 asses. 1 Esdras and Ezra, moreover, add 736 (1 Esd. v. 7036) horses and 245 mules.

[j] *Cf.* 1 Esdras Σαλαθιήλ; Ezra Shealtiel (*Še'altî'ēl*).

ὢν[1] τῶν Δαυίδου γεγονὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, καὶ Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ἰωσεδέκου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος καὶ Σερεβαῖος ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους κεκριμένοι[2] ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, οἳ καὶ συνεβάλοντο μνᾶς μὲν χρυσίου ἑκατὸν ἀργύρου δὲ
74 πεντακισχιλίας. οὕτως μὲν οὖν οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅσον ἦν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι, μετῳκίσθησαν[3] εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἀνεχώρησε πατρίδας.

75 (iv. 1) Ἑβδόμῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῶν ἐξόδου περιπέμψαντες ὅ τε ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ Ζοροβάβηλος ὁ ἄρχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνήγαγον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πανδημεὶ μηδὲν προ-
76 θυμίας ἀπολιπόντες,[4] κατεσκεύασάν τε θυσιαστήριον ἐφ᾿ οὗ καὶ πρότερον ἦν ᾠκοδομημένον τόπου, ὅπως τὰς νομίμους ἀναφέρωσι θυσίας ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς προσχωρίοις
77 ἔθνεσιν πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεχθανομένων. ἤγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν,

[1] υἱῶν ὢν P[1]LA υἱωνῶν P[2]VW υἱῶν FOE
[2] κεχρισμένοι WE [3] Naber: κωτῳκίσθησαν codd.
[4] ἀπολιπόντας Hudson: ἀπολειπόντας FW

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[a] So 1 Esdras; Ezra does not mention his Davidic lineage.
[b] So 1 Esdras; Ezra Jeshua (*Yēšû'a*). The Heb. name is a contraction of *Y'hôšû'a*=bibl. Joshua.
[c] *Cf.* 1 Esdras Ἰωσεδέκ, bibl. Jozadak (*Yôṣādāq*), *cf. Ant.* x. 150 note *g*.
[d] So 1 Esdras; Ezra Mordecai.
[e] 1 Esdras cod. A Ζαρέου, cod. B Ζαραίου, Luc. Σαραίου; Ezra Seraiah (*S'rāyāh*). Other names are added in both books.
[f] 1 Esdras 1000 minae of gold and 5000 minae of silver;

descendants of David,[a] and Jēsūs,[b] son of the high priest Jōsedekos.[c] In addition to these, Mardochaios[d] and Serebaios[e] were selected from the host as officers, and they also contributed one hundred minae of gold and five thousand of silver.[f] Thus, then, did the priests and Levites and a portion of the entire Jewish people in Babylon emigrate to Jerusalem, while the rest of the people went off, each to his native place.

1 Esdras v. 45, Ezra ii. 69

(iv. 1) In the seventh month after the departure from Babylon[g] the high priest Jēsūs and Zorobabēlos, the governor, sent round and, showing no lack of zeal, brought the country people together in a body[h] at Jerusalem. And they constructed an altar on the spot where the former one had been built, in order that they might offer on it the customary sacrifices to God in accordance with the laws of Moses. But in doing this they incurred the displeasure[i] of the neighbouring nations, all of whom were hostile to them. They also celebrated the festival of Tabernacles at that time, in the manner

The festival of Tabernacles observed at Jerusalem. 1 Esdras v. 47, Ezra iii. 1

Ezra 61,000 drachmae (*dark*[e]*mônîm*) of gold and 5000 minae (*mānîm*) of silver (A.V. renders *dark*[e]*mônîm* by "dram" and *mānîm* by "pound"). Josephus omits the 100 priestly garments mentioned in both books. These contributions were made by "some of the heads of families" according to 1 Esdras and Ezra, not necessarily by the leaders named here, as Josephus implies.

[g] 1 Esdras and Ezra have merely "when the seventh month was come." Both books, moreover, state that the work on the temple was begun in the reign of Cyrus and continued until the reign of Darius. Josephus simplifies the chronological problem by passing over the connexion of Jeshua and Zerubbabel with Cyrus, *cf.* § 78.

[h] The phrasing here is Thucydidean, *cf.* Thuc. viii. 22.

[i] This phrase (*οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ*) also is Thucydidean, *cf.* Thuc. i. 99.

ὡς ὁ νομοθέτης περὶ αὐτῆς διετάξατο, καὶ προσφορὰς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐνδελεχισμοὺς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῶν σαββάτων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν, οἵ τε πεποιημένοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀπεδίδοσαν θύοντες ἀπὸ νουμηνίας τοῦ
78 ἑβδόμου μηνός. ἤρξαντο δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ, πολλὰ τοῖς τε λατόμοις καὶ τέκτοσι χρήματα δόντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τροφὴν τῶν εἰσαγομένων,[1] τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν τά τε κέδρινα κατάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου ξύλα, δήσασιν αὐτὰ καὶ σχεδίαν πηξαμένοις, εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἰόπης κομίζειν λιμένα· τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον[2] μὲν Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν, τότε δὲ Δαρείου κελεύσαντος[3] ἐγίνετο

79 (2) Ἐν[4] τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καθόδου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μηνὶ δευτέρῳ παραγενομένων συνείχετο[5] ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευή καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους ἐγείραντες τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους ἐπῳκοδόμουν, προστησάμενοι τῶν ἔργων Λευιτῶν τε τοὺς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη γεγονότας καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Ζοδμίηλον[6] τὸν

[1] ἐργαζομένων ex Lat (operantibus) Cocceji
[2] πρῶτος PA
[3] γράψαντος AW
[4] Ὧν FLAV
[5] συνήγετο Cocceji: ἠπείγετο conj. Naber sed συνείχετο retin in edd.: *cf.* § 171.
[6] Ζοδμιῆλον L: Ζοδμοῆλον F · Ζολιμήηλον P. Ζωλιμίηλον V · Ζολιμήει W: Obdoilum Lat.

[a] So Ezra and most MSS. of 1 Esdras, cod B "first."
[b] "Pleasant and easy" (ἡδὺ καὶ κοῦφον) reflects the reading χάρα "joy" found in some MSS of 1 Esdras, the other MSS. have κάρρα "carts" or κάρυα "nuts" or καρπούς "fruits" in the list of supplies furnished the workmen, *cf.*

which the lawgiver had ordained, and after that they brought the offerings and the so-called continual burnt-offerings and the sacrifices of the sabbaths and all the sacred festivals; and those who had made vows paid them by sacrificing, from the new moon of the seventh[a] month on. They also began the building of the temple, giving large sums of money to the stone-cutters and carpenters and the sums needed for the sustenance of the workmen who were brought in; and it was pleasant and easy[b] for the Sidonians to bring down cedar wood from Lebanon, bind the logs together and fasten them into rafts to convey them to the harbour of Jopē.[c] This had first been ordered by Cyrus but was now being carried out at the order of Darius.[d]

The completion of the second temple 1 Esdras v. 56; Ezra iii. 8

(2) In the second year[e] after the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, in the second month when they came there, the construction of the temple was undertaken[f]; after raising the foundations on the new moon of the second month of the second year, they began to build on them and placed in charge of the work those of the Levites who had reached the age of twenty years, and Jēsūs and his sons and brothers, and Zodmiēlos,[g] the

Ezra iii. 7, "They gave . . . food and drink and oil to the Sidonians and Tyrians."

[c] Bibl. Joppa, modern *Jaffa*, *cf. Ant.* ix. 208 note *b*.

[d] *Cf.* § 75 note *a*.

[e] Luc. 1 Esdras adds "of Darius," *cf.* § 106 note *e*.

[f] This rendering of συνείχετο is supported by the chronology implied in § 106, but in § 171 συνέχειν seems to mean "continue." Perhaps, in view of the statement in Ezra iv. 24 that the work "ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius," we should here render "resumed."

[g] Variants Zolmiēlos, Obdoilos, etc.; Ezra Kadmiel; 1 Esdras cod. A Καδωήλ, cod. B Δαμαδιήλ, other mss. Καδμιήλ, Luc. Κεδμιήλ.

ἀδελφὸν Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἀμιναδάβου[1] καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς
80 αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ναὸς πάσῃ χρησαμένων σπουδῇ
τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγκεχειρισμένων θᾶττον ἢ
προσεδόκησεν ἄν τις ἔλαβεν τέλος. ἀπαρτισθέντος
δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μετὰ σαλπίγγων οἱ ἱερεῖς ταῖς συνήθεσι
στολαῖς κεκοσμημένοι καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ οἱ
Ἀσάφου παῖδες ἀναστάντες ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν, ὡς
τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εὐλογίαν Δαυίδης κατέδειξε πρῶτος.
81 οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τῶν πατριῶν οἱ
πρεσβύτεροι τὸν πρότερον ναὸν ταῖς μνήμαις
ἀναπολοῦντες μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον,
καὶ τὸν γεγενημένον ὁρῶντες ὑπὸ πτωχείας ἐνδε-
έστερον τοῦ πάλαι κατασκευαζόμενον, ὅσον εἶεν
τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐδαιμονίας ὑποβεβηκότες καὶ[2] τῆς
ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ λογιζόμενοι κατήφουν, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ
τούτῳ λύπης κρατεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι μέχρι θρήνων
82 καὶ δακρύων προήγοντο. ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἠγάπα τοῖς
παροῦσιν καὶ τῷ μόνον οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸ ἱερόν, τοῦ
πρότερον ὄντος οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος οὐδ'
ἀνάμνησιν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν τὴν ἐκείνου
βασανίζων αὑτὸν ὡς ἐπ' ἐλάττοσιν ἢ οἷς[3] ὑπ-
83 ελάμβανεν. ὑπερεφώνει δὲ τὸν τῶν σαλπίγγων
ἦχον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους χαρὰν ἡ τῶν πρεσβυ-
τέρων καὶ ἱερέων, ἐφ' οἷς ἐδόκουν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τὸν
ναὸν τοῦ κατασκαφέντος, οἰμωγή.
84 (3) Τῆς δὲ βοῆς τῶν σαλπίγγων ἀκούσαντες οἱ

[1] Ἀβιναδάβου PW.
[2] ἐκ Naber.
[3] ἢ οἷς Dindorf: οἷς codd.

brother of Judas, son of Aminadabos, and his sons.[a] And so, because those into whose hands the superintendence of the work was given, carried it out with all zeal, the temple was completed sooner than one would have expected.[b] And, when the sanctuary was finished, the priests with trumpets, robed in their customary vestments, and the Levites and the sons of Asaph arose and sang the praises of God as David had first shown how to bless Him. But the priests and Levites and the elders of the families, recalling to mind the former temple which had been very great and costly, and seeing that the one recently constructed fell short of the old one because of their poverty, and considering how far they had fallen below their ancient prosperity and a state worthy of the temple, were downcast, and being unable to master their grief at this thought, were moved to laments and weeping. The people, however, were content with the present state of things and the mere building of the temple, and had no thought nor memory of the former one, nor did they torment themselves by comparing this one with the other as being less than what they had supposed But louder than the sound of the trumpets and the joy of the multitude was heard the wailing of the elders and priests because the temple seemed to them inferior to that which had been destroyed [c]

(3) On hearing the sound of the trumpets, the

[a] Ezra "Kadmiel and his sons, the sons of Judah together . . . and the sons of Henadad, their sons and their brothers, the Levites"; the MSS of 1 Esdras have confused texts. Josephus's Aminadabos corresponds to bibl Henadad (*Ḥēnādād*)

[b] This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

[c] Josephus here amplifies somewhat.

Σαμαρεῖται (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἀπεχθανόμενοι τῇ τε Ἰούδα φυλῇ καὶ τῇ Βενιαμίτιδι) συνέδραμον, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θορύβου μαθεῖν θέλοντες γνόντες δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνακτίζοντας τὸ ἱερόν, προσίασιν τῷ Ζοροβαβήλῳ καὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν πατριῶν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτραπῆναι συγκατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς οἰκοδομίας·

85 "σεβόμεθα γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκείνων τὸν θεόν," ἔφασκον, "καὶ τοῦτον[1] ὑπερευχόμεθα[2] καὶ τῆς θρησκείας ἐσμὲν ἐπιθυμηταὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἀφ' οὗ Σαλμανάσσης[3] ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθίας ἡμᾶς μετήγαγεν καὶ Μηδίας

86 ἐνθάδε." τούτους αὐτῶν ποιησαμένων τοὺς λόγους Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶν πατριῶν ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσταχθέντων κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρου νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ

87 Δαρείου προσκυνεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐφιέναι καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινόν, εἰ βούλονται, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν θεόν.

[1] *τούτων* P[1]: *τούτῳ* Ernesti

[2] *ὑπερχόμεθα* Naber.

[3] ex libr non. Niese: *Σαλ(α)μανασ(σ)άρης* codd

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[a] 1 Esdras and Ezra "the enemies of Judah and Benjamin." Further on in both books we read that these "enemies" were the people settled in Samaria by the Assyrians.

Samaritans,[a] who were, as it happened, hostile to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, came running there, for they wished to learn the reason for the disturbance. And, when they found that the Jews who had been taken captive to Babylon were rebuilding the sanctuary, they approached Zorobabēlos and Jēsūs and the chiefs of the families, and asked to be allowed to join in constructing the temple and to have a share in the building. "For we worship God no less than they," they asserted, "and pray fervently to Him and have been zealous in His service from the time when Salmanassēs,[b] the king of Assyria, brought us hither from Chuthia and Media." Such was the speech they made, but Zorobabēlos and the high priest Jēsūs and the chiefs of the Israelite families told them that it was impossible for them to have a share in the building since none but themselves had been commanded to build the temple, the first time by Cyrus and now by Darius.[c] They would, however, allow them to worship there, they said, but the only thing which they might, if they wished, have in common with them, as might all other men, was to come to the sanctuary and revere God.[d]

[b] Emended form: mss. Sal(a)manas(s)arēs, bibl. Esar-haddon, 1 Esdras cod. A Ἀσβασαρέθ, cod. B Ἀσβακαφάθ, Luc. Ἀχορδάν. The form Asbasareth in cod. A is probably due to confusion with the name Sheshbazzar, and Achordan in Luc. is probably a corruption of Asorchadan (=bibl. Esar-haddon), *cf.* C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 169. Josephus has altered Esar-haddon to Salmanasses (=bibl. Shalmaneser), in order to make the reference consistent with the earlier bibl. account in 2 Kings ch. xvii., *cf. Ant.* ix. 277 ff.

[c] The reference to Darius is an addition to Scripture, *cf.* § 75 note *n*.

[d] This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

88 (4) Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Χουθαῖοι (τὴν γὰρ προσηγορίαν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται ταύτην ἔχουσιν) ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ πείθουσιν τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἔθνη τῶν σατραπῶν δεηθῆναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐπὶ Κύρου πρότερον εἶτ᾽ ἐπὶ Καμβύσου μετ᾽ αὐτόν, ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν, καὶ σπουδάζουσιν περὶ αὐτὸν[1] τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀναβολὴν καὶ
89 τριβὴν πραγματεύσασθαι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναβάντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Σισίνου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης ἐπάρχου καὶ Σαραβαζάνου[2] μετὰ καί τινων ἑτέρων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐρομένων τίνος αὐτοῖς συγχωρήσαντος οὕτως οἰκοδομοῦσιν τὸν ναόν, ὡς φρούριον αὐτὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερόν, καὶ τί δήποτε τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ τείχη περιβεβλήκασι τῇ πόλει σφόδρα ὀχυρά,
90 Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰησοῦς δούλους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εὐδαίμονος καὶ πάντας ὑπερβάλλοντος ἀρετῇ
91 πολὺν διαμεῖναι χρόνον ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πατέρων

[1] αὐτὴν FLAVW.
[2] Σαρωβαζάνου PF. Σαραβασάνου L Σαροβαζάνου WE Sarobazanes Lat

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[a] Josephus, to preserve the chronological order of events, here follows 1 Esdras as against Ezra, in passing over the references in the latter (iv. 6 ff) to complaints made by the Jews' adversaries to Xerxes (bibl Ahasuerus) and Artaxerxes, which interrupt the narrative of events in Darius's reign, resumed in Ezra v 3 = 1 Esdras vi. 3, *cf.* § 97 note *d*. Both books, moreover, in the verses following those dealing with the Jews' refusal of Samaritan help, state that the "people of the land" interfered with the work of building the temple all the days of Cyrus until the reign of Darius (1 Esdras

(4) [a] On hearing this, the Chuthaeans—it is by this name that the Samaritans are called—were indignant and persuaded the nations in Syria to request the satraps, in the same way as they had formerly done under Cyrus and again, after his reign, under Cambyses, to stop the building of the temple and put hindrances and delays in the way of the Jews as they busied themselves about it. At the same time Sisinēs,[b] the governor of Syria and Phoenicia,[c] and Sarabazanēs [d] together with certain others went up to Jerusalem and asked the leaders of the Jews [e] who it was that had given them permission to build the temple in such a way that it was more like a fortress than a sanctuary, and why indeed they had built porticoes round the city, as well as very strong walls [f] Thereupon Zorobabēlos and the high priest Jēsūs said [g] that they were servants of the Most High God and that this temple, which had been built for Him by one of their kings, a fortunate man who surpassed all others in virtue,[h] had stood for a long time. But,

" they were prevented from building for two years until the reign of Darius ")

[b] Bibl. Tatnai, *cf.* § 12 note *c.*

[c] So 1 Esdras ; Ezra " beyond the river," *cf* § 25 note *a.*

[d] Bibl. Shethar-boznai, *cf* § 12 note *d.*

[e] The leaders here mentioned in 1 Esdras and Ezra are (beside Jeshua and Zerubbabel) the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, *cf* § 96.

[f] The reference to " porticoes " and " strong walls " is a detail invented by Josephus , in 1 Esdras the officials speak of " this temple (lit " house ") and this roof and all the other things," in Ezra of " this temple . . and this wall."

[g] In 1 Esdras and Ezra the following statements by Zerubbabel and Jeshua are introduced as quotations into the letter written to Darius by Tatnai and Shethar-boznai.

[h] 1 Esdras " a great and mighty king " , Ezra " a great king."

ἀσεβησάντων εἰς τὸν θεὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὁ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλεὺς ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος αὐτήν τε καθεῖλεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν συλήσας ἐνέπρησεν καὶ τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν
92 αἰχμάλωτον μεταγαγὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, Κῦρος ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Περσίδος βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ναόν, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μετήνεγκεν[1] ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἀναθήματα καὶ σκεύη Ζοροβαβήλῳ παραδοὺς καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ γαζοφύλακι προσέταξε κομίσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκαταστῆσαι[2]
93 ναὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπέστειλεν ἐν τάχει γενέσθαι, Σαναβάσαρον[3] κελεύσας ἀναβάντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν· ὃς μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ παρὰ[4] Κύρου γράμματα παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς τοὺς θεμελίους κατεβάλετο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου κατασκευαζόμενος μέχρι καὶ τοῦ δεῦρο διὰ τὴν
94 τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακοήθειάν ἐστιν ἀτελής. "εἰ τοίνυν βούλεσθε καὶ δοκιμάζετε, γράψατε ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, ὅπως ἐπισκεψάμενος τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα εὕρῃ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὧν λέγομεν καταψευσαμένους."
95 (5) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντων τοῦ τε Ζοροβαβήλου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ Σισίνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπισχεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν ἕως ἂν ταῦτα

[1] μετήγαγεν P
[2] ἀποκατασταθῆναι PF.
[3] Σαβάσηρον P· Σαβανάσαρον AEP marg 'Αβάσσαρον V (cf. supra § 11) Σαβανάσσαρον W: Sabassirum Lat
[4] τὰ παρὰ Naber τὰ ὑπὸ LAW παρὰ rell

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[a] Zerubbabel is mentioned here in 1 Esdras but not in Ezra.

because their fathers had acted impiously toward God, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylonia and Chaldaea, had taken the city by force and destroyed it and, after despoiling the temple, had burned it and had taken the people captive to Babylon where he settled them. Then Cyrus, who was king of Babylonia and Persia after him, had written that the temple should be built, and had given over to Zorobabēlos[a] and his treasurer Mithridates[b] all the dedicatory offerings and vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from it, commanding them to carry these to Jerusalem and put them back in the temple, where they belonged,[c] after it should have been built. This he had instructed them to have speedily done, and had ordered Sanabasaros[d] to go up to Jerusalem and see to the building of the temple. On receiving this letter from Cyrus, he had, soon after his arrival, laid the foundations, but, though he had been constructing it from that time on, it had not been completed down to the present because of the malice of their enemies. "If, therefore, you so desire and see fit, write these things to Darius in order that he may examine the archives of the kings and find that we have not spoken falsely in anything which we have said."[e]

(5) When Zorobabēlos and the high priest had spoken to this effect, Sisinēs and those with him decided not to stop the building until they had

The prophets Haggai and Zechariah 1 Esdras vi. 1; Ezra v. 1.

[b] Neither book mentions Mithridates at this point, but cf. § 11 on 1 Esdras ii. 10 = Ezra i. 8.

[c] Lit. "their own temple."

[d] Bibl. Sheshbazzar, cf. § 11 note a.

[e] According to 1 Esdras and Ezra it is the satraps, not the Jews, who ask that Darius have a search made for Cyrus's decree.

δηλωθῇ Δαρείῳ,[1] παραχρῆμα δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων
96 ἔγραψαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων κατεπτηχότων καὶ
δεδιότων μὴ μεταδόξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς, ὄντες
κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον δύο προφῆται παρ'
αὐτοῖς Ἀγγαῖος καὶ Ζαχαρίας θαρρεῖν αὐτοὺς
παρώρμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὑφορᾶσθαι
δύσκολον, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προλέγοντος αὐτοῖς
πιστεύοντες δὲ τοῖς προφήταις ἐντεταμένως εἴχοντο
τῆς οἰκοδομίας, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνιέμενοι.
97 (6) Δαρεῖος δὲ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν αὐτῷ γραψάντων
καὶ κατηγορούντων διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων ὡς τήν τε πόλιν ὀχυροῦσι καὶ τὸν ναὸν
φρουρίῳ προσεοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερῷ κατασκευά-
ζουσιν, λεγόντων δὲ μὴ συνοίσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γινό-
μενα καὶ προσέτι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων
τὰς Καμβύσου, δι' ὧν ἐκώλυσεν ἐκεῖνος οἰκοδομεῖν
98 τὸν ναόν, μαθὼν παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς
πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀποκατά-
στασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σισίνου καὶ
τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κομισθέντα ἀνέγνω γράμματα,
προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ζητη-
99 θῆναι τὰ περὶ τούτων καὶ εὑρέθη ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις
τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδίᾳ βιβλίον ἐν ᾧ τάδε ἦν ἀνα-
γεγραμμένα· " ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει

[1] τῷ (τῷ om. W) βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ AW Lat

[a] *Cf.* § 89 note *e*.

[b] The Jews' fear and anxiety are not mentioned in 1 Esdras or Ezra.

[c] According to 1 Esdras and Ezra, Haggai and Zechariah merely "prophesied . . in the name of the Lord God of Israel." This detail about their encouraging the Jews is based on the contents of the biblical books ascribed to them.

reported these things to Darius, but they at once wrote to him about them.[a] Now, as the Jews were trembling with fear that the king might change his mind about the building of Jerusalem and the temple,[b] Haggai and Zechariah, two prophets who were among them at that time, urged them to take courage and not be apprehensive of any untoward action by the Persians, for God, they said, foretold this to them.[c] And so, having faith in the prophets, they applied themselves vigorously to the building, without relaxing for a single day. 1 Esdras vi 1, Ezra v 1

(6) But the Samaritans wrote to Darius and in their letter accused the Jews of fortifying the city and constructing the temple so as to resemble a fortress rather than a sanctuary, and said that what was being done would not be to his advantage and, in addition, cited the letter of Cambyses in which he had forbidden them to build the temple.[d] And so, when Darius heard from them that the restoration of Jerusalem would not be safe for his government, and also read the letter that came from Sisinēs and those with him, he commanded that a search be made in the royal archives concerning these matters. And there was found at Ecbatana,[e] a fortress in Media, a document in which the following was written. "In the first year of his reign King Cyrus ordered the

Darius discovers Cyrus's letter

1 Esdras v 23, Ezra vi 1

[d] No such letter from the Samaritans to Darius, referring to a decree of Cambyses, is mentioned in 1 Esdras or Ezra. Josephus here alludes to the letters written by Bishlam, Mithridath, Tabeel and others to Artaxerxes, Ezra iv 7 ff.—a passage which (like 1 Esdras) he does not reproduce in detail because of the chronological difficulty involved in the bibl. account, namely that Artaxerxes precedes Darius, *cf.* § 88 note *a*.

[e] So 1 Esdras; Ezra Achmetha (*'Ahm*[e]*thā*). It was the summer residence of the Persian kings.

Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσε τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομηθῆναι
τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὕψος
μὲν πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα εὖρος δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, διὰ
δόμων λιθίνων εὐξεστῶν[1] τριῶν καὶ ξυλίνου δόμου
100 ἑνὸς ἐγχωρίου καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην ἐκ
τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γίνεσθαι διετάξατο, καὶ[2] τὰ
σκεύη, ἃ συλήσας Ναβουχοδονόσορος εἰς Βαβυ-
λῶνα ἐκόμισεν, ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις,
101 τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τούτων εἶναι Σαναβασσάρου τοῦ
ἐπάρχου καὶ τῆς Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης ἡγεμόνος
καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέξονται[3]
τοῦ τόπου, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰουδαίοις τε
καὶ ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψουσιν[4] οἰκοδομηθῆναι
102 τὸν ναόν καὶ συλλαβέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον
διετάξατο, κἀκ τοῦ φόρου τῆς χώρας ἧς ἐπετρό-
πευον τελεῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς θυσίας λόγον
ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους καὶ
σεμίδαλιν καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἂν
οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπαγορεύσωσιν, εὔχωνται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς
103 σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Περσῶν τοὺς δὲ
παραβάντας τι τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων συλληφθέντας
ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασταυρωθῆναι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν
εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν καταταγῆναι κτῆσιν. καὶ κατ-

[1] ed. pr. βία τε ξεστῶν P. διά τε ξεστῶν FLAV: ἀξέστων W
[2] καὶ] προσέταξε δὲ καὶ LAV
[3] ἀφέξωνται FLA¹VWE
[4] ἐπιτρέψωσιν P²L²AVWE

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a Text slightly uncertain.
b Josephus apparently confuses Sanabassarēs = bibl. Sheshbazzar (*cf.* § 11 note *a*) with Sarabazanes = bibl. Shethar-

temple in Jerusalem to be built with its altar, to a height of sixty cubits and the same breadth, its walls to be made of three courses of well-polished [a] stone and one of wood of the country. And the costs of this he decreed should come out of the king's treasury, and that the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken to Babylon should be given back to the people of Jerusalem, and that the supervision of these matters should be undertaken by Sanabassarēs, the eparch and governor of Syria and Phoenicia,[b] and his companions, but that they themselves should keep away from the (sacred) place and should leave the building of the temple to the servants of God, the Jews and their leaders.[c] He also decreed that they should assist in the work and from the tribute of the territory which they governed should pay for the expenses of the Jews in sacrificing bullocks, rams, sheep and kids [d] and fine flour, oil and wine [e] and whatever other things the priests might suggest, in order that they might pray for the well-being of the king and the Persians.[f] But those who should transgress any of these commands he ordered to be seized and crucified and their possessions to be confiscated to the royal

boznai (*cf.* § 12 note *d*). Moreover it was Tatnai (Sisinēs), and not Shethar-boznai, who was governor of Syria and Phoenicia according to 1 Esdras and Ezra, followed by Josephus in §§ 89, 104, *cf.* following note.

[c] According to 1 Esdras and Ezra, Sisinēs (bibl. Tatnai), the governor of Syria and Phoenicia (bibl. "beyond the river"), and Sathrabūzanēs (bibl. Shethar-boznai) and their companions are told to keep away from the temple, which is to be built under the direction of "the governor of the Jews" (1 Esdras "Zorobabēlos, eparch of Judaea").

[d] "Kids" are not mentioned in 1 Esdras and Ezra.

[e] 1 Esdras and Ezra add "salt."

[f] 1 Esdras and Ezra "for the king and his children."

ηὔξατο πρὸς τούτοις τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε διακωλῦσαι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ, βαλὼν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσχῃ τῆς ἀδικίας."

104 (7) Ταῦθ' εὑρὼν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τοῖς Κύρου Δαρεῖος ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σισίνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγων "βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Σισίνῃ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ[1] καὶ Σαραβαζάνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτῶν χαίρειν· τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῖν ἧς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὗρον τοῖς Κύρου ἀπέσταλκα καὶ βούλομαι γίνεσθαι πάντα καθὼς ἐν αὐτῇ περιέχει.

105 ἔρρωσθε." μαθόντες οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ Σισίνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ταύτῃ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκόλουθα ποιεῖν διέγνωσαν. ἐπεστάτουν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων συλλαμβανόμενοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν γερόντων

106 ἄρχουσιν· καὶ ἠνύετο κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ναοῦ, προφητευόντων Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου, κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ βουλήσεως Κύρου τε καὶ Δαρείου τῶν βασιλέων,

107 ᾠκοδομήθη δ' ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτά. τοῦ δ' ἐνάτου τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἔτους εἰκάδι καὶ τρίτῃ μηνὸς

[1] Hudson: ὑπάρχῃ L: ἱππάρχῃ rell. Lat.

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[a] This reference to confiscation is based on the interpretation in 1 Esdras of the Aram. phrase *baythēh newālû yith'abed*, which Jewish commentators and A.V. render "let his house be made a dunghill." Confiscation is expressly mentioned in the similar decree of Artaxerxes, Ezra vii. 26.

[b] Emended text; mss. "hipparch."

[c] In place of the letter quoted here, 1 Esdras and Ezra have "I, King Darius, have made a decree. Let it be done with diligence (A.V. "speed")."

[d] 1 Esdras and Ezra add "and Artaxerxes, king of Persia." Josephus, of course, omits this name because of the anachronism.

treasury.[a] Furthermore he prayed to God that, if anyone should attempt to prevent the building of the temple, He should strike him down and restrain him from his wicked deed."

Darius orders his satraps to assist the Jews. Cf. 1 Esdras vi. 34, Ezra vi. 12.

(7) Darius on finding these things in the archives of Cyrus wrote an answer to Sisinēs and his companions, which read as follows: "King Darius to the eparch[b] Sisinēs and Sarabazanēs and their companions, greeting. I have sent to you a copy of the letter which I found in the archives of Cyrus, and it is my will that everything should be done as is stated therein. Farewell."[c] And so, when Sisinēs and those with him learned the king's wishes from this letter, they decided to act accordingly. They therefore began to superintend the sacred works and assisted the Jewish elders and the chiefs of the senate. And the construction of the temple was carried out with great zeal, while Haggai and Zechariah were prophets, in accordance with the command of God and with the consent of Kings Cyrus and Darius.[d] Thus it was built in seven years.[e] Then, in the ninth[f] year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third[g] day

1 Esdras vii. 1; Ezra vi. 13.

[e] This reckoning is based on the assumption that the statement in 1 Esdras v. 56 ff., "In the second year after his coming to the temple of God in Jerusalem, in the second month, began Zorobabēlos . . . and the Jews . . . and they laid the foundation," etc. refers to the second year of Darius (so Luc. expressly states). Since, according to Josephus (in the following sentence), the temple was completed in the 9th year of Darius, the building must have taken 7 years.

[f] Variant 11th; 1 Esdras and Ezra 6th. In *Ap.* i. 154 Josephus writes, "in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and, lastly, in the second year of the reign of Darius it was completed" (*cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note *ad loc.*).

[g] So 1 Esdras; Ezra 3rd.

δωδεκάτου,[1] ὃς καλεῖται παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ἄδαρ παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν Δύστρος, προσφέρουσιν θυσίας οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πλῆθος ἀνανεωτικὰς τῶν πρότερον ἀγαθῶν μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακαινισθὲν ἀπειληφέναι ταύρους ἑκατὸν κριοὺς διακοσίους ἄρνας τετρακοσίους χιμάρους δώδεκα κατὰ φυλήν (τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλαί),
108 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν ἑκάστη. ἔστησάν τε κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἵ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται θυρωροὺς ἐφ' ἑκάστου πυλῶνος· ᾠκοδομήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ναοῦ στοὰς τοῦ ἔνδοθεν ἱεροῦ.

109 (8) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ, κατὰ μὲν Μακεδόνας Ξανθικῷ λεγομένῳ κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς Νισάν, συνερρύη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον ἁγνεύοντες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῷ
110 πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευομένην θυσίαν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐπιτελέσαντες κατευωχήθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτά, μηδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι πολυτελείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὁλοκαυτώσεις ἐπιφέροντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἱερουργοῦντες ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοὺς[2] τὸ

[1] ἑνδεκάτου PF(L)AV Lat
[2] + ποθοῦν PFL¹V: + ποθοῦντας L².

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[a] 1 Esdras and Ezra omit the detail of Adar being the 12th month.
[b] Roughly March in the Julian calendar The equation of Adar with Dystros is made in *Ant.* iv. 327, xi 286, xii 412
[c] The porters are mentioned in 1 Esdras but not in Ezra Neither book mentions porticoes
[d] Both 1 Esdras and Ezra first mention the festival of

of the twelfth month, which is called by us Adar[a] and by the Macedonians Dystros,[b] the priests and Levites and the rest of the Israelite people brought sacrifices to celebrate the renewal of their former prosperity after their captivity and in token of having a sanctuary once more after it had been rebuilt, the sacrifices being a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs and twelve he-goats, one for each tribe—this is the number of Israelite tribes—to atone for the sins of each And in accordance with the laws of Moses the priests and Levites set porters at each gateway, for the Jews had built porticoes round the temple within the sacred precincts[c]

(8) When the festival of Unleavened Bread[d] came round in the first month, which by the Macedonians is called Xanthikos and by us Nisan,[e] all the people streamed from their villages to the city and celebrated the festival in a state of purity with their wives and children, according to the law of their fathers; and, after offering the sacrifice called Pascha[f] on the fourteenth of the same month, they feasted for seven days,[g] sparing no expense but bringing the whole burnt-offerings to God and performing the sacrifices of thanksgiving because the Deity had

The celebration of Passover 1 Esdras vii 14, Ezra vi 22

Passover (which immediately precedes the festival of Unleavened Bread)

[e] Roughly April in the Julian calendar. The equation of Nisan with Xanthikos is made in *Ant* i. 81, ii. 311, iii. 201, 248

[f] *Cf* note *d* above

[g] The two festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread together are observed for 8 days, Nisan 14-21 incl In 1 Esdras and Ezra the 7-day celebration is referred to the festival of Unleavened Bread alone Josephus is here writing carelessly, *cf* *Ant.* x. 70 note

θεῖον πάλιν εἰς τὴν πάτριον γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νόμους ἤγαγε καὶ τὴν τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως
111 διάνοιαν εὐμενῆ κατέστησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιδαψιλευόμενοι ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοτιμίᾳ κατῴκησαν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετ' ὀλιγαρχίας· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς προεστήκεσαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄχρις οὗ τοὺς Ἀσαμωναίου συνέβη
112 βασιλεύειν ἐκγόνους πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο ἀπὸ Σαούλου πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι[1] καὶ Δαυίδου ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντακόσια τριάκοντα[2] δύο μῆνας ἓξ ἡμέρας δέκα πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς διεῖπον οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κριταὶ καὶ μόναρχοι, καὶ τοῦτον πολιτευόμενοι τὸν τρόπον ἔτεσιν πλέον ἢ πεντακοσίοις διήγαγον μετὰ Μωυσῆν ἀποθανόντα
113 καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν στρατηγόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀνασωθέντων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἰουδαίων ἐν τοῖς Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου χρόνοις ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν

114 (9) Οἱ δὲ Σαμαρεῖς[3] ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ βασκάνως διακείμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους

[1] ἀρξαμένου PWE Lat (vid)
[2] εἴκοσι Ernesti, cf x 143
[3] Σαμαρεῖται A (et infra, 117, Σαμαρειτῶν pro Σαμαρέων hab.).

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[a] 1 Esdras and Ezra " king of Assyria " The medieval Jewish commentators, like Josephus, assume that the king of Persia is meant.

[b] *Cf Ant.* x. 143 where the figure 514 years, 6 months, 10 days is given for the interval between David and the end of the kingdom of Judah. If we add 20 years for Saul's reign (*cf* note *ad loc*) we get 534 years, 6 months, 10 days

brought them back to the land of their fathers and to its laws, and had disposed the mind of the Persian king [a] favourably to them. And so, with lavishness of sacrifice in return for these favours and with magnificence in their worship of God, they dwelt in Jerusalem under a form of government that was aristocratic and at the same time oligarchic For the high priests were at the head of affairs until the descendants of the Asamonaean family came to rule as kings Before the captivity and deportation they were ruled by kings, beginning first with Saul and David, for five hundred and thirty-two years, six months and ten days [b]; and before these kings the rulers who governed them were the men called judges and monarchs, and under this form of government they lived for more than five hundred years after the death of Moses and the commander Joshua [c] Such, then, was the condition of the Jews who had been delivered from captivity in the time of Cyrus and Darius.

(9) [d] But the Samarians, who regarded them with feelings of hostility and envy, inflicted many injuries The Jews appeal to Darius against the Samaritans

I am unable to suggest an explanation of the discrepancy of 2 years except the obvious ones of a scribal error or carelessness on Josephus's part. Ernesti's correction of 32 to 22 years makes the discrepancy greater.

[c] For earlier reckonings of the interval between the Exodus and the beginning of the kingdom *cf. Ant* x. 147 note.

[d] Almost the whole of the following section, §§ 114–119, is an addition to 1 Esdras and Ezra in which (1 Esdras viii. 1 = Ezra vii. 1) the account of the festival celebration is followed by that of Ezra's appearance in the reign of Artaxerxes (*cf.* §§ 120 ff). The interpolated section is modelled in part on the account in 1 Esdras vi 27 ff., which Josephus has already reproduced in §§ 100 ff. He takes special delight in describing the various rebuffs suffered by the Samaritans.

εἰργάσαντο, πλούτῳ τε πεποιθότες καὶ συγγένειαν
προσποιούμενοι τὴν Περσῶν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖθεν
115 ἦσαν. ὅσα τε γὰρ ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐκ τῶν φόρων
ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν τοῖς
Ἰουδαίοις, παρέχειν οὐκ ἤθελον, τούς τε ἐπάρχους[1]
σπουδάζοντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ συνεργοῦντας
εἶχον, ἄλλα τε ὅσα βλάπτειν ἢ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἢ δι'
ἑτέρων ἠδύναντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ ἀπώκνουν.
116 ἔδοξεν οὖν πρεσβευσαμένοις τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατηγορῆσαι τῶν
Σαμαρειτῶν, καὶ πρεσβεύουσι Ζοροβάβηλος καὶ
117 ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τέσσαρες[2] ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐγκλή-
ματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν Σαμαρέων
ἐπέφερον ἔγνω παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ βασιλεύς,
δοὺς αὐτοῖς κομίζειν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους
τῆς Σαμαρείας καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀπέπεμψεν τὰ δὲ
118 γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιάδε " βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Ταγανᾷ
καὶ Σαμβαβᾷ[3] τοῖς ἐπάρχοις Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ[4]
Σαδράκῃ καὶ Βουήδωνι[5] καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς συν-
δούλοις[6] αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ Ζοροβάβηλος
καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταὶ
ᾐτιῶντο ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνοχλοῦντας αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν
οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ μὴ χορηγοῦντας ἃ προσ-

[1] Hudson ἱππάρχας (-ους F) codd Lat, sic et in seqq · ὑπάρχους Gutschmid.
[2] δύο Gutschmid
[3] Σαββᾷ F Σαβαᾷ LA : Σαβᾷ V Sambalae Lat.
[4] Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ conj καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν codd. Lat.
[5] Βουήλωνι F Βουτήλωνι LAW : Βοήλωνι V · Βοβήλωνι ed pr · Veloni Lat
[6] συμβούλοις haud recte conj. Naber

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[a] Emended text, mss. "hipparchs," *cf.* § 104 note
[b] Perhaps a corruption of Τατταναί = bibl Tatnai

on the Jews, for they relied on their wealth and pretended to be related to the Persians, since they had come from their country. And the sums which they had been ordered by the king to pay to the Jews out of their tribute for the sacrifices, they refused to furnish, and they had the eparchs [a] zealously aiding them in this, and whatever else they could do to injure the Jews either by themselves or through others, they did not hesitate to try. The people of Jerusalem therefore resolved to send an embassy to King Darius to accuse the Samaritans; the envoys were Zorobabēlos and four other leaders. When the king learned from these envoys the complaints and charges which they brought against the Samarians, he gave them a letter and sent them off to bring it to the eparchs of Syria and the council. It was written as follows "King Darius to Taganas [b] and Sambabas,[c] the eparchs of the Samaritans, and Sadiakēs and Būēdōn [d] and the rest of their fellow-servants [e] in Samaria Zorobabēlos, Ananias and Mardochaios,[f] the envoys of the Jews, have charged you with hampering them in building the temple and with failing to provide them with the sums which I

Cf 1 Esdras vi 27, Ezra vi 6

[c] Variants Sambas, Sab(b)as, Sambalas, etc, these forms appear to be corruptions of Σαναβαλλέτες (or the like) = bibl Sanballat, a Samaritan name familiar from the book of Nehemiah and Jewish or Samaritan tradition, *cf.* §§ 302 ff.

[d] Variants Būēlōn, Būtēlōn, etc; the names Sadrakēs and Būēdōn seem to be a corrupt division of Σαθραβουζάνης = bibl Shethar-boznai.

[e] Naber's conjecture συμβούλοις "counsellors" is hardly needed σύνδουλοι is used of the Samaritan leaders in LXX 2 Esdras vi 13

[f] These two names (= bibl Hananiah and Mordecai) are given in Scripture (Ezra ii 2, Neh vii 2) as those of leaders associated with Zerubbabel and Nehemiah.

ἔταξα ὑμῖν εἰς τὰς θυσίας τελεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναλώματα.
119 *βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀναγνόντας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν*
χορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακείου
τῶν φόρων τῆς Σαμαρείας πάνθ' ὅσα πρὸς τὰς
θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα, καθὼς οἱ ἱερεῖς
ἀξιοῦσιν, ἵνα μὴ διαλείπωσι καθ' ἡμέραν θύοντες
μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ Περσῶν εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ."
καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦτα περιεῖχεν
120 (v 1) *Δαρείου δὲ τελευτήσαντος παραλαβὼν τὴν*
βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης ἐκληρονόμησεν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ
τιμήν ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῷ πατρὶ τὰ πρὸς
τὴν θρησκείαν ἐποίησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους
121 *ἔσχε φιλοτιμότατα. κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν*
ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν Ἰησοῦ παῖς Ἰωάκειμος ὄνομα
ὑπῆρχε δὲ καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξης
ἀπολαύων ἀγαθῆς παρὰ τῷ πλήθει πρῶτος ἱερεὺς
τοῦ λαοῦ[1] *καλούμενος Ἔσδρας,*[2] *ὃς τῶν Μωυσέος*
νόμων ἱκανῶς ἔμπειρος ὢν γίνεται φίλος τῷ
122 *βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ. γνοὺς δὲ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἱερο-*
σόλυμα καὶ ἐπαγαγέσθαι τινὰς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
τυγχανόντων Ἰουδαίων παρεκάλεσε τὸν βασιλέα
δοῦναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας τῆς Συρίας
ἐπιστολὴν ἀφ'[3] *ἧς αὐτοῖς γνωρισθήσεται τίς εἴη*
123 *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας ἐπιστολὴν*
τοιάνδε· " βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ξέρξης Ἔσδρᾳ ἱερεῖ
καὶ ἀναγνώστῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων[4] *χαίρειν. τῆς*

[1] *θεοῦ* P. [2] *Ἔζδρας* P: *Ἔζρας* E.
[3] *ὑφ'* LWE: per Lat.
[4] *τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων* P· *τοῦ θείου (θεοῦ) νόμου* rell legis dei Lat.

[a] Here again Josephus corrects the chronological order of Scripture, in which Artaxerxes follows Darius

commanded you to pay them for the expenses of the sacrifices It is my will, therefore, that, when you have read this letter, you shall furnish them out of the royal treasury, from the tribute of Samaria, everything which they may need for the sacrifices as the priests request, in order that they may not leave off their daily sacrifices or their prayers to God on behalf of me and the Persians " These were the contents of the letter.

(v 1) When Darius died, his son Xerxes,[a] who took over the royal power, inherited also his piety toward God and his way of honouring Him. For he followed his father in all the things which he had done for His service, and he held the Jews in the highest esteem. Now the high priest at that time was named Joakeimos, the son of Jēsūs.[b] And there was also in Babylon a righteous man who enjoyed the good opinion of the masses,[c] called Ezra [d]; he was the chief priest [e] of the people [f] and, being very learned in the laws of Moses, became friendly with King Xerxes. Now, having decided to go up to Jerusalem and take with him some of the Jews who were then living in Babylon, he requested the king to give him a letter to the satraps of Syria, which would inform them who he was The king, therefore, wrote the following letter to the satraps. " Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra, the priest and reader of the laws of God, greeting. As I

Xerxes (bibl Artaxerxes) and Ezra 1 Esdras viii 1, Ezra vii 1

Xerxes authorizes the Jews' return to Jerusalem 1 Esdras viii 8, Ezra vii. 11.

[b] *Cf* Neh xii. 10, " and Jeshua (Gr. Jēsūs) begat Joiakim (Gr. Joakeimos)."

[c] Unscriptural detail.

[d] Gr. Esdras, as in many LXX MSS. (cod. A Ἔζρας, cod B Ἔσρας); variant (in Jos.) Ezdras as in Luc.

[e] In 1 Esdras and Ezra, in the passage introducing Ezra, it is not he but his remote ancestor Aaron who is called chief priest In 1 Esdras ix. 40, however, Ezra is called high priest

[f] Variant " of God."

ἐμαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργον εἶναι νομίσας τὸ τοὺς
βουλομένους ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ Λευιτῶν[1]
ὄντων ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ συναπαίρειν εἰς τὰ
124 Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῦτο προσέταξα, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος
ἀπίτω, καθάπερ ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἑπτά μου
συμβούλοις, ὅπως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπι-
σκέψωνται τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκολούθως καὶ ἀπ-
ενέγκωσι[2] δῶρα τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεῷ, ἅπερ ηὐξάμην
125 ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον
ὅσον ἂν εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
ὠνομασμένον τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο πᾶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
κομισθῆναι τῷ θεῷ εἰς τὰς θυσίας, πάντα τε ὅσα
βούλει ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαι,
126 ποιεῖν ἐξέστω σοι μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. καὶ τὰ
δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις καὶ ὅσων ἂν
ἐπίνοιαν λάβῃς καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάσῃ, τὴν εἰς
αὐτὰ δαπάνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ποιούμενος γαζο-
127 φυλακείου. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν τῆς
Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης, ἵνα τῶν ὑπὸ Ἔσδρα τοῦ
ἱερέως καὶ ἀναγνώστου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ νόμων
ἐπισταλέντων ἐπιμεληθῶσιν. ὅπως δὲ μηδεμίαν
ὀργὴν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ λάβῃ τὸ θεῖον ἢ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκγόνους,
πάντ᾽ ἀξιῶ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πυροῦ κόρων ἑκατὸν
128 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ
λέγω ὅπως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ Λευίταις καὶ ἱερο-
ψάλταις καὶ θυρωροῖς καὶ ἱεροδούλοις καὶ γραμ-
ματεῦσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μήτε φόρους ἐπιτάξητε μήτ᾽
ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον ἢ φορτικὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς
129 γένηται. καὶ σὺ δέ, Ἔσδρα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ

[1] *καὶ ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν* Hudson
[2] *ἀνενέγκωσι* Niese

[a] *i.e.* the Jews

consider it a part of my friendliness to mankind to allow those of the Jewish nation and the Levites in our kingdom who may so desire to go up with you to Jerusalem, I have given the command for this, and whosoever desires may depart, for it has seemed good both to me and my seven counsellors that they[a] should look after matters in Judaea in accordance with the law of God, and bring to the God of the Israelites the gifts which I and my friends have vowed to send And all the gold and silver dedicated to God which may be found in the country of the Babylonians shall be taken to Jerusalem for the sacrifices to God, and whatever vessels you may wish to fashion out of the gold and silver, it shall be permitted you and your brothers to make. And you shall dedicate the sacred vessels which have been given you, and may, in addition, make as many as you have a mind to make, taking the expenses for these out of the royal treasury I have also written to the treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia that they shall see to it that the orders of Ezra, the priest and reader of the laws of God, are carried out And in order that the Deity may not conceive any anger against me or my descendants, I grant that all things up to a hundred *kors*[b] of wheat[c] shall be offered to God in accordance with the law. And to you I say that on the priests, Levites, temple-musicians, porters, temple-servants and scribes of the sanctuary you shall impose no tribute, nor shall any other thing be done which is designed to hurt them or be a burden to them And as for you, Ezra, you shall in

[b] The *kor* equalled about 370 litres or 11 bushels.
[c] 1 Esdras and Ezra also mention 100 talents of silver and quantities of wine, oil and salt.

σοφίαν ἀπόδειξον κριτάς, ὅπως δικάσωσιν ἐν
Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ πάσῃ,[1] τοὺς ἐπισταμένους[2] σου
τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ παρέξεις αὐτὸν
130 μαθεῖν, ἵν' ἄν τις τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν σου παραβαίνῃ τὸν
τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον ἢ τὸν βασιλικόν, ὑπόσχῃ τιμωρίαν
ὡς οὐ κατ' ἄγνοιαν αὐτὸν παραβαίνων, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐπιστάμενος μὲν τολμηρῶς δὲ παρακούων καὶ
καταφρονῶν. κολασθήσονται δ' ἤτοι θανάτῳ ἢ
ζημίᾳ χρηματικῇ. ἔρρωσο."
131 (2) Λαβὼν δὲ Ἔσδρας ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
ὑπερήσθη καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνεῖν ἤρξατο, τῆς τοῦ
βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν χρηστότητος ἐκεῖνον αἴτιον
ὁμολογῶν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν
αὐτῷ[3] χάριν ἔλεγεν εἰδέναι.[4] ἀναγνοὺς δ' ἐν
Βαβυλῶνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς αὐτόθι παροῦσιν Ἰου-
δαίοις αὐτὴν μὲν κατέσχεν, τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον αὐτῆς
132 πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔπεμψε τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς τοὺς κατὰ
τὴν Μηδίαν ὄντας. μαθόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰ παρὰ[5]
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ
τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἔσδραν εὔνοιαν ἅπαντες μὲν ὑπερ-
ηγάπησαν, πολλοὶ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀνα-
133 λαβόντες ἦλθον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ποθοῦντες τὴν εἰς
τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κάθοδον[6] ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς τῶν
Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν· διὸ καὶ δύο
φυλὰς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπί τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς
Εὐρώπης Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακουούσας,[7] αἱ δὲ δέκα
φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες

[1] πάσῃ καὶ FLAV.
[2] τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις PFLAV
[3] αὐτοῦ P.
[4] εἶναι P[1]FL

accordance with your God-given wisdom appoint as judges to hold court in all of Syria and Phoenicia men who know the law, and to those ignorant of it you shall give an opportunity to learn it, in order that if any of your countrymen transgresses the law of God or the king, he may suffer punishment as one who transgresses it not through ignorance but as one who, in spite of knowing it, boldly disobeys and shows contempt for it Such men shall be punished either with death or with the payment of a fine.[a] Farewell"

(2) When Ezra received this letter, he was overjoyed and began to do obeisance to God whom he acknowledged to have been the cause of the king's kindness to him, for which reason, he said, he rendered Him all his thanks. Then he read the letter in Babylon to the Jews who were there, and, while he kept the letter itself, sent a copy of it to his countrymen who were in Media. When they learned of the king's orders and of his piety toward God as well as his goodwill toward Ezra, they were all greatly pleased, and many of them, taking along their possessions also, came to Babylon out of longing to return to Jerusalem. But the Israelite nation as a whole remained in the country In this way has it come about that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while until now there have been ten tribes beyond the Euphrates—count-

Ezra informs the Jews of Xerxes' decree 1 Esdras viii 25, Ezra vii 27

[a] 1 Esdras and Ezra add banishment and imprisonment to the penalties threatened

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5 τὰ παρὰ FL: τὴν παρὰ P: om AV
6 τὴν . . . κάθοδον] τῆς . . . καθόδου P¹FWA¹
7 ὑπηκόους LAWE

ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι[1] μὴ δυνάμεναι.
134 πρὸς δὲ Ἔσδραν ἀφικνοῦνται ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν
καὶ θυρωρῶν καὶ ἱεροψαλτῶν καὶ ἱεροδούλων
πολλοὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
αἰχμαλωσίας εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τρεῖς
ἐπιδιατρίψας ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας, νηστείαν αὐτοῖς παρ-
ήγγειλεν ὅπως εὐχὰς ποιήσονται τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς
αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
παθεῖν ἄτοπον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἤ τινος ἄλλου
135 δυσκόλου προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς· φθάσας γὰρ ὁ
Ἔσδρας εἰπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι διασώσει αὐτοὺς ὁ
θεός, οὐ κατηξίωσεν ἱππεῖς αὐτὸν αἰτῆσαι τοὺς
προπέμψοντας. ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰς εὐχάς, ἄραντες
ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς
τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας παρ-
εγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ[2]
136 ἔτους. καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῖς γαζοφύλαξιν ὁ Ἔσδρας
οὖσιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἱερέων γένους παρέστησε τὰ
ἱερὰ χρήματα, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑξακόσια πεντή-
κοντα, σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ ταλάντων ἑκατόν, καὶ
χρύσεα σκεύη ταλάντων εἴκοσι, καὶ χαλκᾶ σκεύη
χρυσοῦ κρείττονα σταθμὸν ἔχοντα[3] ταλάντων δώ-
δεκα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδωρήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

[1] γνωρισθῆναι A. [2] ἑβδόμου P
[3] ἕλκοντα AWE.

[a] The foregoing details about the public reading of the king's letter and the sending of it to Media, as well as the statement about the number of those remaining in Babylonia, are additions to 1 Esdras and Ezra. For the later history of the Babylonian Jews see *Ant.* xviii. 310 ff.

[b] 1 Esdras, "to the river called Theras (Luc. Eeïa)," Ezra "to the river that comes to Ahava (*'Ahᵃwā*)." It has been conjectured by Lupton (cited by S. A. Cook in R. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha etc.* i. 50 note) that πέραν in

less myriads whose number cannot be ascertained.[a] And so there came to Ezra a great number of priests, Levites, porters, temple-musicians and temple-servants And he assembled those from the captivity in the country beyond the Euphrates,[b] where he tarried for three days and proclaimed a fast for them in order to offer prayers to God for their safety and that they might not suffer any harm on the way either from their enemies or from any other mischance that should befall them For, as Ezra had already told the king that God would preserve them, he did not think it proper to ask him for horsemen to escort them [c] And so, when they had offered up prayers, they set out from the Euphrates on the twelfth day of the first month in [d] the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes and arrived at Jerusalem in the fifth month of the same year.[e] Thereupon Ezra immediately turned over to the treasurers who were of priestly descent the sacred property consisting of six hundred and fifty talents of silver, silver vessels weighing one hundred talents, gold vessels weighing twenty [f] talents and vessels of bronze more precious than gold, weighing twelve talents.[g] These were the gifts presented by the king and his counsellors

The Jews set out for Jerusalem 1 Esdras viii 61, Ezra viii 31

Josephus is a corruption of Θέραν in 1 Esdras, but this is unlikely

[c] The preceding is an abridgement of the account of the preparations given in 1 Esdras and Ezra

[d] Lit. "of"

[e] The dating of the arrival in Xerxes' 7th year, in the 5th month, is based on an earlier passage, 1 Esdras viii 6 = Ezra vii 8.

[f] 1 Esdras and Ezra 100

[g] 1 Esdras and Ezra "twelve (Ezra "two") bronze vessels of fine bronze, gleaming like gold." Josephus omits the 20 gold bowls mentioned in both books

οἱ σύμβουλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
137 μένοντες Ἰσραηλῖται. παραδοὺς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς
ἱερεῦσιν ὁ Ἔσδρας ἀπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐκ τῶν
ὁλοκαυτώσεων νενομισμένας γίνεσθαι θυσίας, ταύ-
ρους δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας,
κριοὺς ἐνενήκοντα, ἄρνας ἑβδομήκοντα δύο, ἐρίφους
138 εἰς παραίτησιν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δώδεκα. τοῖς
δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπάρχοις
τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τὰ γράμματα τοῦ
βασιλέως ἀπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἐτίμησάν τε τὸ ἔθνος
καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ χρείαν συνήργησαν
139 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύσατο
Ἔσδρας, προεχώρησε δ' αὐτῷ κρίναντος αὐτὸν
ἄξιον, οἶμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν βουληθέντων διὰ
140 χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον
προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τινων καὶ κατηγορούντων ὥς
τινες τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ Λευιτῶν
παραβεβήκασι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ λελύκασι τοὺς
πατρίους νόμους, ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἠγμένοι γυναῖκας καὶ
141 τὸ ἱερατικὸν γένος συγκεχύκασιν, δεομένων τε[1]
βοηθῆσαι τοῖς νόμοις, μὴ κοινὴν ἐπὶ πάντας ὀργὴν
λαβὼν[2] πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰς συμφορὰς ἐμβάλῃ, δι-
έρρηξε μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἐσπάρασσε τὰ γένεια ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπὶ
τὴν γῆν ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην
142 λαβεῖν τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ λαοῦ. λογιζόμενος δὲ
ὅτι ἐὰν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἐξ
αὐτῶν προστάξῃ τέκνα, οὐκ ἀκουσθήσεται, δι-

[1] δὲ FLVW [2] λαβὼν ὁ θεὸς Hudson

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[a] 1 Esdras and Ezra 96
[b] So 1 Esdras (most mss.), Ezra 77

and all the Israelites remaining in Babylon. And when he had given these over to the priests, Ezra rendered to God the sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings customarily made, twelve bullocks on behalf of the well-being of the whole people, ninety[a] rams, seventy-two[b] lambs, and twelve kids as an atonement for sins[c] And to the stewards of the king and the eparchs of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia he delivered the letter of the king. Whereupon, being compelled to carry out his commands, they honoured the Jewish nation and assisted it in all necessary ways.

(3) These things, then, were what Ezra himself had planned, but that they turned out well for him was, I think, due to God, who judged him worthy of obtaining his desires because of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterwards there came to him certain men who accused some of the common people as well as Levites and priests of having violated the constitution and broken the laws of the country by marrying foreign wives and mixing the strain of priestly families, and they besought him to come to the aid of the laws lest God conceive anger at all of them alike and again bring misfortune upon them.[d] No sooner did he hear this than he rent his clothes for grief, tore the hair from his head, disordered his beard and threw himself upon the ground because the chief men among the people were guilty of this charge. And as he reasoned that, if he commanded them to put away their wives and the children born to them, he would not be listened

Ezra learns of the mixed marriages at Jerusalem

1 Esdras viii 68, Ezra ix 1

[c] So Ezra; 1 Esdras "twelve goats for a peace-offering" (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίου; σωτήριον in LXX = Heb *šelem* "peace-offering").

[d] The appeal to Ezra to enforce the law is a detail added by Josephus.

ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κείμενος. συνέτρεχον οὖν[1] πρὸς
αὐτὸν οἱ μέτριοι πάντες, κλαίοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ
τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ λύπης συμμεταλαμβάνοντες.
143 ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἔσδρας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, αἰσχύνεσθαι μὲν ἔλεγεν
εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναβλέψαι διὰ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα τῷ λαῷ,
ὃς τῆς μνήμης ἐξέβαλε τὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν διὰ
144 τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν συμπεσόντα, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν
θεὸν σπέρμα τι καὶ λείψανον ἐκ τῆς τότε συμφορᾶς
αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας περισώσαντα καὶ πάλιν
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἀποκατα-
στήσαντα καὶ τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλέας ἀναγκάσαντα[2]
λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν, συγγνωμονῆσαι καὶ[3] τοῖς νῦν
ἡμαρτημένοις, ἄξια μὲν θανάτου πεποιηκόσιν, ὃν
δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητι καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους[4]
ἀφεῖναι τῆς κολάσεως

145 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαύσατο τῶν εὐχῶν· θρηνούντων
δὲ πάντων ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ
τέκνοις συνῆλθον, Ἀχόνιός[5] τις ὀνόματι πρῶτος
τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν προσελθὼν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἁμαρ-
τεῖν ἔλεγεν ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἐνοικισαμένους γυναῖκας,
ἔπειθε δ' αὐτὸν ἐξορκίσαι πάντας ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὰς
καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα,[6] κολασθήσεσθαι δὲ
146 τοὺς οὐχ ὑπακούσαντας τῷ νόμῳ. πεισθεὶς οὖν

[1] δὲ AWE Exc
[2] καὶ τοὺς . . . ἀναγκάσαντα om. PFV
[3] συγγνωμονῆσαι καὶ Bekker: καὶ συγγνωμ. PFLVW συγγνωμ. A Lat. Exc
[4] τοὺς τοιούτους Exc. Lat : τούτους codd
[5] Ἀχώνιος PVE: Achanonius Lat
[6] γεγεννημένα L²AVWE

[a] This added detail is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of 1 Esdras viii 90 = Ezra ix 15 (Heb. 16) in which Ezra

to, he remained lying on the ground.[a] And so there ran to him all the honest citizens who were themselves also weeping and sharing his grief over what had happened. Then Ezra arose from the ground and, stretching his hands toward heaven, said that, although he was ashamed to look up at it because of the sins committed by the people, who had put out of their minds all the things that had befallen our fathers because of their impiety, yet he besought God, who had preserved a seed and remnant out of their recent misfortune and captivity and had once more restored them to Jerusalem and their own country and had compelled the kings of Persia to take pity on them,[b] to forgive also the sins which they had now committed, for though they had done things deserving of death, it was in keeping with the kindness of God to exempt even such sinners from punishment.

(4) With this he ceased praying, whereupon, amid the lamentations of all those who had gathered to him with their wives and children, a man named Achonios,[c] the head of the people of Jerusalem,[d] came up to him and said that they had sinned by taking foreign women as wives, but he tried to persuade Ezra to adjure them all to put them away with the children born of them and to have those men punished who would not obey the law. So Ezra

Ezra persuades the Jews to divorce their foreign wives
1 Esdras viii. 91; Ezra x. 1

concludes his prayer to God (alluded to by Josephus below) with the phrase "for we cannot stand any longer before Thee because of these things."

[b] The variant omits this last phrase.

[c] 1 Esdras Ἰεχονίας, Luc. Σεχενίας, Ezra Shechaniah (*Šᵉkanyāh*).

[d] In 1 Esdras he is called "son of Jeēlos, of the sons of Israel," in Ezra "son of Jehiel of the sons of Elam."

τούτοις ὁ Ἔσδρας ἐποίησεν ὀμόσαι τοὺς φυλάρχους τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀποπέμψασθαι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα κατὰ
147 τὴν Ἀχονίου συμβουλίαν. λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως διὰ τὴν λύπην γευσάμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν[1] δι-
148 ήγαγεν αὐτόθι. γενομένου δὲ κηρύγματος ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας συνελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὡς τῶν ἐν δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἀπαντησάντων ἀπαλλοτριωθησομένων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κρίσιν ἀφιερωθησομένης, συνῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ Βενιαμίτιδος ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις εἰκάδι τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός, ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Χασλεύς,[2] κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Ἀπελλαῖος καλεῖται.
149 καθισάντων δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ[3] τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παρόντων ἅμα καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους ἀηδῶς διακειμένων, ἀναστὰς Ἔσδρας ᾐτιᾶτο ἐκείνους, λέγων παρανομῆσαι γήμαντας οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων· νῦν μέντοι γε ποιήσειν αὐτοὺς τῷ μὲν θεῷ κεχαρισμένα συμφέροντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπο-

[1] V: ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ rell.
[2] conj. Hudson (Τεβέθος ex ed. pr. in ed.). Ξένιος PFL[1]AVE: Ξέλιος L[2]: Τεβέθ W: Sileos Lat.
[3] W (Exc.): ὑπερώω rell. Lat.

[a] Or simply "from the temple" (ἱερόν in Josephus can mean either); 1 Esdras ἀπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Ezra "from before the temple."

followed this advice, and made the chiefs of the priests, Levites and Israelites swear to send away their wives and children in accordance with the counsel of Achonios. And, as soon as he had received their oaths, he hastened from the temple court[a] to the chamber of Jōannēs,[b] the son of Eliasib,[c] and there spent all of that day,[d] not tasting a thing because of his grief. Then a proclamation went forth that all those of the captivity should gather at Jerusalem and that those who did not meet there within two or three days should be separated from the community and have their property confiscated to the temple in accordance with the decision of the elders. Accordingly, within three days those of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin gathered there, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called Chasleus[e] by the Hebrews and Apellaios by the Macedonians And as they sat in the court[f] of the temple, the elders also being present,[g] and suffered discomfort from the cold, Ezra arose and accused them of having broken the law by marrying outside their own nation; nevertheless, he said, they would now do what was pleasing to God and beneficial to themselves if they sent away their

[b] 1 Esdras Ἰωανᾶν (cod. B Ἰωνᾶ), Ezra Johanan (*Yᵉhôḥānān*)

[c] Bibl. Eliashib (*'Elyāšîb*).

[d] Neither 1 Esdras nor Ezra specifies the length of time he spent there

[e] Emended form (=Heb Kislew), MSS Xenios, Xelios, Tebeth. Kislew corresponded roughly to December in the Julian calendar. The equation of Kislew with Apellaios is made also in *Ant* xii. 248 and 319 ff.

[f] The variant "upper chamber" is certainly corrupt; 1 Esdras and Ezra "in the broad place before the temple."

[g] Added detail.

150 πεμψαμένους τὰς γυναῖκας. οἱ δὲ ποιήσειν μὲν
τοῦτο πάντες ἐξεβόησαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος εἶναι πολύ,
καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους χειμέριον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον
οὐ μιᾶς οὐδὲ δευτέρας ὑπάρχειν ἡμέρας. "ἀλλ'
οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις[1] οἱ συνοικοῦντες
ταῖς ἀλλοφύλοις παραγενέσθωσαν λαβόντες χρόνον
καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐξ οὗ[2] ἂν θελήσωσι τόπου[3]
τοὺς συνεπισκεψομένους τὸ τῶν γεγαμηκότων
151 πλῆθος" καὶ τοῦτο δόξαν αὐτοῖς, ἀρξάμενοι
τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνὸς ἀναζητεῖν τοὺς
συνοικοῦντας ταῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν εὗρον ἕως τῆς
τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐχομένου νουμηνίας ποιησάμενοι
τὴν ἔρευναν, πολλοὺς ἔκ τε τῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐκγόνων
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν
152 καὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἳ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ
ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα[4] τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ἢ
τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ φίλτρων ποιούμενοι πλείονα λόγον,
εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλον, καὶ θυσίας ἐξευμενίζοντες τὸν
θεὸν ἐπήνεγκαν, κριοὺς καταθύσαντες αὐτῷ. τὰ
δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀναγ-
153 καῖον εἶναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἁμάρτημα τὸ περὶ τοὺς
γάμους τῶν προειρημένων οὕτως ἐπανορθώσας
Ἔσδρας ἐκαθάρισε τὴν περὶ ταῦτα συνήθειαν, ὥστ'
αὐτὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ μόνιμον[5] εἶναι
154 (5) Τῷ δ' ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ἑορτά-

[1] καὶ πρὸς τούτοις conj · τούτοις καὶ codd E · et alii Lat
[2] ὧν Dindorf
[3] λαβόντες τόπου] tempus acciperent dilationis et seniores cohabitantes cum alienigenis Lat
[4] γεγεννημένα FAWE
[5] νόμιμον PW Exc.

wives. Thereupon they all cried out that they would do this, but said that their number was great and it was the wintry season of the year and it was a work of not merely one or two days. "But let the leaders and, in addition,[a] those who are married to foreign wives come here at a fixed time and bring elders from whatever place they wish, to examine with them the number of those so married." When they had resolved on this, they began, on the new moon of the tenth month, to search out those who were married to foreign wives and, continuing the inquiry until the new moon of the following month,[b] they found many of the descendants of the high priest Jēsūs and of the priests, Levites and Israelites who, having more regard for the observance of the laws than for the objects of their affection, at once put away their wives and the children born of them, and brought sacrifices to propitiate God, the victims being rams. We have not, however, thought it necessary to give their names. So then, having rectified the wrongdoing of the forementioned men in marrying, Ezra purified the practice relating to this matter so that it remained fixed for the future.

(5) In the seventh month they celebrated the

[a] Emended text. Reinach, following 1 Esdras, which reads *στήτωσαν δὲ οἱ προηγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ*, suggests *ἀλλ' οἵ γε ἡγεμόνες μενόντων* "let the chiefs remain." But both 1 Esdras and Ezra state further on in the verse that the elders and judges are to come to Jerusalem together with those married to foreign women. I assume that by *ἡγεμόνες* Josephus means these judges.

[b] According to 1 Esdras and Ezra the inquiry was terminated on the new moon of the first month (of the following year).

ζοντες καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ συνεληλυθότος ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἀνελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἀνειμένον τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὴν πύλην τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν, ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Ἔσδρα τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς
155 ἀναγνῶναι[1] τοὺς Μωυσέος. ὁ δὲ μέσος τοῦ πλήθους σταθεὶς ἀνέγνω, καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀπ' ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἕως μεσημβρίας· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀναγινωσκομένων τῶν νόμων δίκαιοι μὲν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐδιδάσκοντο εἶναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρῳχημένων ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δακρύειν προήχθησαν ἐνθυμούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν τῶν πεπειραμένων κακῶν ἔπαθον,
156 εἰ τὸν νόμον διεφύλαττον ὁ δὲ Ἔσδρας οὕτως ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι[2] πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ δακρύειν εἶναι γὰρ ἑορτὴν καὶ μὴ δεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ κλαίειν οὐ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι· προετρέπετο δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς εὐωχίαν ὁρμήσαντας ποιεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ κεχαρισμένα, καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ λύπην τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξημαρτημένοις ἀσφάλειάν τε ἕξειν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ

[1] ἀναγνωσθῆναι PFLVE
[2] ed pr Lat : ἀπεῖναι codd E

[a] In 1 Esdras and Ezra the people gather for the reading of the law on the 1st day of the 7th month, and on the 2nd day, according to Neh. (1 Esdras ends here), they read in the laws of Moses that the festival of Tabernacles is to be observed in the 7th month, only after this—on what day is not specified—do they celebrate the festival. The natural

festival of Tabernacles[a] and, when almost all the people had gathered for it, they went up to the open court of the temple near the gate which faced the east,[b] and asked Ezra to read to them the laws of Moses So he stood up in the midst of the multitude and read them, taking from early morning until noon And, as they listened to the laws being read, they learned how to be righteous for the present and the future, but they were troubled about the past and were moved to tears as they bethought themselves that they would not have suffered any of the evils which they had experienced if they had observed the law But, when Ezra saw them so affected, he bade them return to their homes and shed no tears, for, he said, it was a festival, on which it was not right to weep nor was it lawful. He exhorted them rather to turn to feasting and do what was in keeping with the festival and was pleasant, for in their repentance and sorrow over the sins which they had formerly committed, they would have a security and safeguard

Ezra reads the Law at the festival of Tabernacles 1 Esdras ix 38, Neh viii. 1

inference from this passage in Neh is that on this occasion the festival began on the 3rd day of the 7th month, although in the laws ascribed to Moses (Lev xxiii 34, Num. xxix. 12, *cf. Ant.* iii. 244) the festival's beginning is set on the 15th of the month (on [illegible] religious calendar and the date of [illegible] in *Hebrew Union College Annual* [illegible] apparent conflict between Neh. and the Pentateuch is probably the reason why Josephus omits to state on what day of the month Ezra began to read the law.

[b] *Cf* 1 Esdras "in the broad place of the temple gateway toward the east"; Neh. "before the broad place (A V. "street") that was before the water-gate." In Neh. iii. 26 the water-gate is located in the eastern part of the city. On the topographical problems involved in Neh ch iii. *cf.* M Burrows in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* xiv., 1933/34, pp 130 ff.

157 μηδὲν ὅμοιον συμπεσεῖν οἱ δέ, ταῦτα Ἔσδρα παρ-
αινοῦντος, ἑορτάζειν ἤρξαντο καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες
ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, ἀνεχώρησαν
εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα μετὰ ὕμνων τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἐπαν-
ορθώσεως τῶν περὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρανομηθέντων
158 Ἔσδρᾳ χάριν εἰδότες. ᾧ συνέβη μετὰ τὴν παρὰ
τῷ λαῷ[1] δόξαν γηραιῷ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ
ταφῆναι μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.
ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἰωακείμου τοῦ ἀρχ-
ιερέως ἀποθανόντος παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐλιάσιβος τὴν
ἀρχιερωσύνην διεδέξατο.
159 (6) Τῶν δ' αἰχμαλωτισθέντων τις Ἰουδαίων,
οἰνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως Ξέρξου, Νεεμίας ὄνομα
περιπατῶν πρὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Περσῶν
Σούσων, ξένων τινῶν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας εἰς
τὴν πόλιν εἰσιόντων ἐπακούσας ἑβραιστὶ πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων, προσελθὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπυν-
160 θάνετο πόθεν εἶεν παραγενόμενοι ἀποκριναμένων
δ' ἥκειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ ἡ μητρόπολις Ἱεροσόλυμα πάλιν
161 ἤρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι κακῶς δ' ἔχειν εἰπόντων,

[1] θεῷ Lat

[a] In the preceding Josephus omits certain scriptural details and adds others. It is noteworthy that he passes over "Nehemiah the Tirshatha" who is mentioned in Neh. viii. 9 as one of the leaders associated with Ezra in expounding the law (1 Esdras omits Nehemiah's name). Most modern biblical scholars recognize that the name of Nehemiah is an intrusion in this chapter which originally formed part of the story of Ezra.

[b] Josephus here omits some scriptural details and adds others.

[c] Variant "God"

that the like would not happen again [a] Accordingly, at this reassurance from Ezra, they began to celebrate the festival and kept it in their tabernacles for eight days, after which they returned to their homes, singing hymns to God and expressing thanks to Ezra for rectifying the offences against the laws of the state [b] And it was his fate, after being honoured by the people,[c] to die an old man and to be buried with great magnificence in Jerusalem [d] About the same time also died the high priest Jōakeimos, whom his son Eliasib succeeded in the high priesthood [e]

(6) [f] Now one of the Jewish captives, named Nehemiah,[g] who was cup-bearer of King Xerxes,[h] was walking about before the walls of Susa, the metropolis of Persia, when he overheard some strangers, who were entering the city after a long journey, speaking Hebrew to one another, and so he went up to them and inquired where they had come from [i] When they replied that they had come from Judaea, he began to inquire further how the people and the metropolis Jerusalem were getting on. They said that these were in a bad way, for the walls

Nehemiah at Susa gets news from Jerusalem Neh i 1 (LXX 2 Esdras xi 1)

[d] Unscriptural detail According to rabbinic tradition Ezra died in Persia, *cf.* Ginzberg iv 358, vi. 446.

[e] *Cf* § 121 note *b*.

[f] In the following section, §§ 159-183, Josephus's account of Nehemiah's history differs in so many details from Scripture that most scholars assume, with some reason, that he had before him a text differing considerably from the extant Heb and Gr texts

[g] Gr Neemias (as in LXX), Heb *Neḥemyāh.*

[h] Artaxerxes in Scripture, modern scholars not being agreed as to whether Artaxerxes I (464–424 B C) or Artaxerxes II (404–359 B C) is meant *Cf* Appendix B

[i] Unscriptural details , *cf* Neh i. 2 " Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and certain men from Judah, and I asked them concerning the Jews," etc

καθηρῆσθαι[1] γάρ[2] εἰς ἔδαφος τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ
πέριξ ἔθνη πολλὰ διατιθέναι κακὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους,
ἡμέρας μὲν κατατρεχόντων τὴν χώραν καὶ δι-
αρπαζόντων, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κακῶς ἀπεργαζομένων,
ὡς πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῆχθαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς
162 πλήρεις εὑρίσκεσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν νεκρῶν, ἐδάκρυσεν
ὁ Νεεμίας ἐλεήσας τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους,
καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, "ἄχρι τίνος," εἶπεν,
"ὦ δέσποτα, περιόψει ταῦτα πάσχον τὸ ἔθνος
ἡμῶν, οὕτως ἅρπαγμα πάντων καὶ λάφυρον γενό-
163 μενον[3]"; διατρίβοντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ καὶ
ταῦτ' ἀποδυρομένου προσελθών[4] τις ἤγγειλεν
αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἤδη κατακλίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα· ὁ
δ' εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν μηδὲ ἀπολουσάμενος διακονήσων
ἔσπευσεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πότου διακονίαν.
164 ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ βασιλεὺς διεχύθη καὶ
ἡδίων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Νεεμίαν,
κατεσκυθρωπακότα θεασάμενος, διὰ τί κατηφὴς
165 εἴη ἀνέκρινεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ δεηθεὶς χάριν τινὰ
καὶ πειθὼ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντι, "πῶς," φησίν,
"ὦ βασιλεῦ, δύναμαί σοι μὴ βλέπεσθαι τοιοῦτος
μηδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγεῖν, ὅπου τῆς πατρίδος μου
Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ τάφοι καὶ μνήματα προγόνων
τῶν ἐμῶν εἰσιν, ἀκούω βεβλῆσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς

[1] βεβλῆσθαι W.
[2] + αὐτῶν FLAVWE.
[3] γεγόναμεν PV Lat.
[4] προελθὼν PFVW(L^1)

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[a] Josephus here amplifies Scripture.

[b] In Scripture Nehemiah mourns and fasts for several days after hearing the sad news about Jerusalem. Josephus, moreover, greatly shortens the prayer of Nehemiah.

had been torn down to the ground, and the surrounding nations were inflicting many injuries on the Jews, overrunning the country and plundering it by day and doing mischief by night, so that many had been carried off as captives from the country and from Jerusalem itself, and every day the roads were found full of corpses.[a] Then Nehemiah burst into tears out of pity for the misfortunes of his countrymen, and looking up to heaven, said, "How long, O Lord, wilt thou look away while our nation suffers these things, having thus become the prey and spoil of all?"[b] And, as he lingered near the gate, lamenting these things, someone came up to him and informed him that the king was now about to recline at table. Thereupon, just as he was and without bathing, he at once hastened to perform the service of bringing the king his drink.[c] But after dinner, when the king, who was relaxed and in a more pleasant mood than usual,[d] looked at Nehemiah and saw his gloomy face, he asked him why he was downcast. Then, after praying to God to give his words some measure of grace and persuasiveness,[e] Nehemiah said, "How, O King, can I appear to you otherwise and not suffer pain of spirit when I hear that the walls of my native city Jerusalem, where the graves and monuments of my forefathers are, have been thrown to the ground, and its

[c] Unscriptural detail; according to Scripture Nehemiah hears the news in the month of Kislew and resumes his service in the month of Nisan (=4 months later).

[d] Unscriptural detail.

[e] Bibl. "and I prayed to the God of heaven." In Scripture, moreover, this prayer comes after Nehemiah's explanation of his sadness and before his request to leave for Jerusalem, which Josephus here combines.

τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐμπεπρησμένας αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ χάρισαί μοι πορευθέντι[1] τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεγεῖραι
166 καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ λεῖπον[2] προσοικοδομῆσαι" ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διδόναι τε αὐτῷ τὴν δωρεὰν κατένευσε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας κομίσαι γράμματα, ὅπως τιμῆς τε αὐτὸν ἀξιώσωσι καὶ πᾶσαν παράσχωσι χορηγίαν εἰς ἅπερ βούλεται. "πέπαυσο δή," φησί, "λυπούμενος καὶ χαίρων ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ
167 διακόνει." ὁ μὲν οὖν Νεεμίας προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως εὐχαριστήσας, τὸ κατηφὲς τοῦ προσώπου καὶ συγκεχυμένον ἀπεκάθηρε τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἡδονῇ. καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀδδαῖον[3] ἐπιστολὴν κομίσαι τὸν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας ἔπαρχον, ἐν ᾗ περί τε τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ Νεεμίου καὶ χορηγίας τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπεστάλκει

168 (7) Γενόμενος οὖν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐθελοντὶ[4] ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ παραλαβὼν ἧκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη βασιλεύοντος Ξέρξου, καὶ δείξας τῷ θεῷ[5] τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσι τῷ Ἀδδαίῳ καὶ τοῖς

[1] ἀπελθόντι AW.
[2] πλεῖστον PFA marg . partem cadentem Lat
[3] Σαλέον P· Σαλ(λ)αῖον FL Σαδαῖον V· Addeo Lat
[4] ἐθελόντων PF: ἐθελοντὰς V: sponte Lat.
[5] τῷ λαῷ L· om Lat

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[a] Variant "complete the greatest part of the temple" The temple is not mentioned in Scripture.

[b] Josephus omits the scriptural detail that these letters were given to Nehemiah at his own request

[c] Unscriptural details

[d] Scripture (Neh vi 7-8) mentions letters "to the governors (LXX "eparchs") beyond the river" and to "Asaph, the

gates burnt? Do but graciously permit me to go there and raise up the wall and complete the building that remains to be done on the temple."[a] Thereupon the king indicated that he granted him this favour and would let him carry letters to the satraps that they should pay him due honour and furnish him whatever supplies he wished for.[b] "Cease grieving, therefore," he said, "and be cheerful hereafter in serving us." And so Nehemiah, after worshipping God and giving thanks to the king for his promise, cleared his face of its downcast and troubled expression in his joy at the things offered him.[c] And on the following day[c] the king called him and gave him a letter to carry to Addaios,[d] the eparch of Syria, Phoenicia and Samaria, in which he had given orders concerning the honour to be paid Nehemiah and the supplies for the building.

Xerxes (bibl. Artaxerxes) gives Nehemiah leave to go to Jerusalem. Neh. ii. 6 (LXX 2 Esdras xii. 6).

(7) And so, after going to Babylon and taking along many of his countrymen who followed him voluntarily, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth[e] year of the reign of Xerxes; and, when he had showed the letters to God,[f] he delivered them to

Nehemiah arrives at Jerusalem and addresses the people. Neh. ii. 11 (LXX 2 Esdras xii. 11).

keeper of the king's forest." The name Addaios is apparently a corruption of Asaph, while his title of eparch must be due to carelessness on Josephus's part (if we assume that he had before him a text like ours).

[e] The 20th year (of Artaxerxes) according to Scripture; moreover, by substituting Xerxes for Artaxerxes Josephus has involved himself in a chronological difficulty, inasmuch as Xerxes reigned only 20 years (485–465 B.C.).

[f] Variant "to the people." Chamonard freely translates δείξας τῷ θεῷ as "returned thanks to God," but the more literal translation given above is, as noted long ago in Hudson-Havercamp, supported by the parallel in *Ant.* x. 16 (on 2 Kings xix. 14) where Josephus says that Hezekiah placed the letters of the Assyrian general "within the temple" (bibl. "before the Lord").

ἄλλοις ἐπάρχοις,[1] καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ τοιούτους
169 ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγους· "ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἴστε μνήμῃ τῶν πατέρων Ἀβράμου[2] καὶ Ἰσάκου[3] καὶ Ἰακώβου παραμένοντα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων δικαιοσύνης οὐκ ἐγκαταλείποντα τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν[4] πρόνοιαν· ἀμέλει συνήργησέ μοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν ὅπως ὑμῶν τὸ τεῖχος ἀναστήσω καὶ τὸ λείψανον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τελειώσω.
170 βούλομαι δ' ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν γειτονευόντων ἡμῖν ἐθνῶν δυσμένειαν σαφῶς εἰδότας, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, εἰ μάθοιεν περὶ ταύτην ἡμᾶς φιλοτιμουμένους, ἐνστήσονται καὶ πολλὰ πραγματεύσονται
171 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἐμπόδια, θαρρεῖν μὲν τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέχθειαν στησομένους,[5] μήτε δ' ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνιέναι τῆς οἰκοδομίας, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ σπουδῇ χρωμένους συνέχειν τὸ ἔργον, ὡς[6] γε[7] καιρὸς τούτου[8]
172 ἴδιός ἐστιν" ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μετρῆσαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ διανεῖμαι τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ κατὰ κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις, κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστοις δυνατόν, ὑποσχόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν συλλήψεσθαι πρὸς τὴν
173 οἰκοδομίαν διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ

[1] Dindorf· ἱππάρχαις (-οις E) codd E Lat.
[2] Hudson: Ἀβραάμ P: Ἀβραάμου vel Ἁβραάμου rell
[3] Hudson: Ἰσαάκ P: Ἰσαάκου FAVW. Ἱσαάκου L
[4] ὑμῶν AV
[5] στησομένῳ V Lat. στησομένου A[1]W
[6] ἕως ex Lat Niese
[7] ἔτι LAWE
[8] τούτου om P.

Addaios and the other eparchs. Then he summoned all the people to Jerusalem and, standing in the middle of the temple court,[a] addressed them in the following words "Fellow Jews, you know that God cherishes the memory of our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and because of their righteousness does not give up His providential care for us What is more, He has helped me to obtain authority from the king to put up your wall and complete what remains to be done on the temple. And so, although you plainly know the ill-will borne us by the neighbouring nations and that they will oppose the building if they learn of our eager efforts on behalf of it, and will put many obstacles to it in our way, it is my wish first that you have confidence that with God's help you will withstand their hostility, and then that you do not relax in building either by day or night but show all zeal in continuing[b] the work since the time is favourable thereto"[c] With these words he told the officers to measure the wall at once and assign work on it to the people by villages and cities, according to the ability of each; and, after promising that he himself would help in the building together with his servants, he dismissed the assembly.[d] And the Jews prepared for the work. This name,[e] by

[a] Scripture (Neh ii 17) does not tell us in what part of the city Nehemiah addressed the people Josephus, on the other hand, omits the preceding section, *vss* 12-16, describing Nehemiah's secret inspection of the walls by night

[b] On the various meanings of συνέχειν *cf* § 79 note *b*.

[c] Josephus amplifies Nehemiah's speech

[d] In these few words Josephus summarizes the contents of Neh ch. iii.

[e] *Jūdaioi* in Gr This detail is, of course, an addition to Scripture

ὄνομα ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ[1]
τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς, ἧς πρώτης ἐλθούσης εἰς ἐκείνους
τοὺς τόπους αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ χώρα τὴν προσηγορίαν
αὐτῆς[2] μετέλαβον.
174 (8) Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομὴν
σπευδομένην Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Μωαβῖται καὶ Σαμα-
ρεῖται[3] καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ[4] Συρίᾳ νεμόμενοι
χαλεπῶς ἔφερον καὶ διετέλουν ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτοῖς
συντιθέντες, τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐμποδίζοντες,
πολλούς τε τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ αὐτὸν
ἐζήτουν τὸν Νεεμίαν διαφθεῖραι, μισθούμενοί τινας
175 τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἵν᾿ αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν. εἰς φόβον
δὲ καὶ ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ φήμας
αὐτοῖς διέστελλον ὡς πολλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς
μελλόντων ἐθνῶν, ὑφ᾿ ὧν ἐκταρασσόμενοι μικροῦ
176 τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν. τὸν δὲ Νεεμίαν οὐδὲν
τούτων ἐξέστησε τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔργον,
ἀλλὰ στῖφός τι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τοῦ σώματος περι-
βαλλόμενος ἀτρύτως ὑπέμενεν, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ
ἔργον ἐπιθυμίας ἀναισθητῶν καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας·
οὕτως δὲ καὶ[5] συντεταμένως καὶ προνοητικῶς
αὑτοῦ[6] τῆς σωτηρίας εἶχεν οὐχὶ φοβούμενος τὸν
θάνατον, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένος ὅτι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ
τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔσται[7] αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀναστῆσαι[8]

[1] ἐκ PFLV.
[2] ed. pr.: αὐτοῖς codd.
[3] καὶ Σαμαρεῖται om. PF.
[4] κοίλῃ om PF, secl Niese.
[5] δὲ καὶ] τε PFLV.
[6] Naber· αὐτοῦ codd.
[7] οὐκ ἔσται conj. οὐκέτ᾿ vel οὐκ ἔτι codd, οὐκ ἔσθ᾿ ὅστις conj Niese.
[8] conj.: ἀναστήσεται vel ἀναστήσονται codd.

which they have been called from the time when they went up from Babylon, is derived from the tribe of Judah; as this tribe was the first to come to those parts, both the people themselves and the country have taken their name from it

(8) When the Ammanites, Moabites,[a] Samaritans and all those living in Coele-Syria heard that the building of the walls was being pressed, they were angry and continually contrived plots against the Jews to hinder their purpose; they killed many of the Jews [b] and sought to make an end of Nehemiah himself by hiring some foreigners to do away with him.[c] They also instilled fear and alarm into them and spread rumours among them that many nations were about to attack them, by which the Jews were so alarmed that they very nearly gave up building None of these things, however, deterred Nehemiah from being zealous in the work, but, surrounding himself with a company of men to guard his person, he held out unwearyingly and in his eagerness about the work was insensible of the hardship This intentness and forethought for his own safety he showed, not because he feared death, but because he was convinced that after his death it would not be possible for his fellow-citizens to put up the walls.[d]

Nehemiah fortifies Jerusalem
Neh iv 7 (Heb iv 1, LXX 2 Esdras xiv 7)

[a] The Moabites are not mentioned in Scripture, which, on the other hand, includes the Arabians and the Ashdodites, and names the three leaders, Sanballat, Tobiah and Geshem

[b] According to Scripture (Neh iv 11=Heb iv. 5) the enemies of the Jews threatened to kill them, but the threat was not carried out

[c] *Cf* Neh vi 1, 10 ff.

[d] Emended text. This unscriptural detail about Nehemiah's motive seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Neh. iv 14 (Heb. 8) end, "fight for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses."

177 τὰ τείχη. ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἑξῆς τοὺς οἰκοδομοῦντας ὅπλα περιζωννυμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκοδόμος μάχαιραν εἶχε καὶ ὁ τὴν ὕλην παρακομίζων, θυρεοὺς δ' ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν κεῖσθαι καὶ σαλπιγκτὰς ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων ἔστησεν ποδῶν προστάξας, ἂν ἐπιφανῶσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, τοῦτο σημῆναι τῷ λαῷ, ἵν' ὡπλισμένοι[1] μάχωνται
178 καὶ μὴ γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσωσιν. αὐτὸς δὲ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τῆς πόλεως τὸν κύκλον, οὐδὲν κάμνων οὔτε τοῖς ἔργοις οὔτε τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ τοῖς ὕπνοις· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς
179 ἀνάγκην ἐχρῆτο καὶ ταύτην ὑπέμεινε τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας ἐν τοσούτῳ γὰρ χρόνῳ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνῳκοδομήθη τὸ τεῖχος, ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ξέρξου βασιλείας
180 ἔτει μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ τέλος δὲ τῶν τειχῶν λαβόντων Νεεμίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσαν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας καὶ διῆγον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ εὐωχούμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ κατοικοῦντα[2] τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας πέρας
181 ἔχειν ἀκουσθείσης ἐδυσφόρει. Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ὀλιγανθρωπουμένην, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας παρεκάλεσε τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντας μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐτῇ, κατασκευά-

[1] ὁπλισάμενοι PL[1]AWE. ὡπλισμένοις Naber.
[2] κατοικημένα P: κατῳκισμένα AW.

[a] The specification of the distance is an unscriptural detail

[b] According to this reckoning the work must have been begun in the 5th month of the 26th year of Xerxes (=2 yrs and 4 mos previously), which is at variance with the statement in § 168 (in itself incorrect, *cf.* note *ad loc*) that it was

He therefore ordered that for the future the builders should be equipped with arms when they worked, and so the masons had swords, as also those who carried the materials; and he ordered shields to be placed very near them, and stationed trumpeters at intervals of five hundred feet[a] with the command to give the signal to the people if the enemy appeared, in order that they might be armed when they fought and not let the enemy fall on them unprepared He himself made the rounds of the city by night, never tiring either through work or lack of food and sleep, neither of which he took for pleasure but as a necessity. And these hardships he endured for two years and four months, for this was the length of time in which the wall of Jerusalem was built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month[b] And, when the walls were finally ready, Nehemiah and the people sacrificed to God in token of their being built and continued feasting for eight days.[c] Now when the nations settled in Syria heard that the building of the walls was finished, they were angry But Nehemiah, seeing that the city had a small population, urged the priests and Levites to leave the countryside and move to the city and remain there, for he had

Nehemiah increases the population of Jerusalem Neh vii 4 (LXX 2 Esdras xvii 4)

begun in the 25th year of Xerxes. Moreover, according to Scripture, the work took only 52 days, being finished on the 25th day of Ellul (the 6th month) This would indicate that Josephus had before him a text of the books of Nehemiah, whether Hebrew or Greek, rather different from ours (*cf* § 159 note *f*), unless we assume with J. Bewer, *TBL* xliii, 1924, pp 224 ff, that the text is corrupt.

[c] *Cf* Neh viii 18, the festival here mentioned has already been mentioned, §§ 154 ff, as part of the Ezra story (*cf* § 156 note *a*). In what follows Josephus with the greatest possible brevity summarizes Neh. chs v, vii–xiii

182 σας τὰς οἰκίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων τόν τε γεωργοῦντα λαὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν καρπῶν ἐκέλευσε φέρειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἵνα τρέφεσθαι διηνεκῶς ἔχοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται μὴ καταλείπωσι[1] τὴν θρησκείαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡδέως ὑπήκουσαν οἷς Νεεμίας διετάξατο, πολυανθρωποτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν οὕτως συνέβη
183 γενέσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια φιλοτιμησάμενος ὁ Νεεμίας ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐγένετο χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς φιλοτιμότατος, μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ξέρξου βασιλέως ἐγένετο

184 (vi 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξου τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν Ἀσύηρον,[2] ὃν Ἀρταξέρξην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν, συνέβη μεταβῆναι τούτου τὴν Περσῶν ἔχοντος ἡγεμονίαν ἐκινδύνευσε τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἅπαν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσθαι.
185 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν πρέπει γὰρ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διηγεῖσθαι πρῶτον, ὡς[3] ἔγημεν Ἰουδαίαν γυναῖκα τοῦ γένους οὖσαν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ,
186 ἣν καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν λέγουσιν παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης καὶ

[1] καταλίπωσι FL²AV.
[2] Gutschmid: Κῦρον codd. E Lat
[3] ἔπειθ' ὡς LA.

[a] Unscriptural detail Neh ch xi states plainly that only a certain portion of priests and Levites settled in Jerusalem; the others remained "in the cities of Judah" (*vss* 1, 3, 20)

[b] This characterization of Nehemiah is an addition to Scripture

prepared houses for them at his own expense;[a] he also told the people who cultivated the land to bring tithes of their produce to Jerusalem in order that the priests and Levites, having a perpetual source of livelihood, might not abandon the temple service. And so, as they gladly obeyed Nehemiah's ordinance, the city of Jerusalem came to have a larger population in this way. Then, after performing many other splendid and praiseworthy public services, Nehemiah died at an advanced age. He was a man of kind and just nature and most anxious to serve his countrymen; and he left the walls of Jerusalem as his eternal monument.[b] These, then, were the things that took place in the reign of Xerxes.

Artaxerxes (bibl. Ahasuerus) entertains his nobles

(vi. 1) On the death of Xerxes the kingdom passed to his son Asuēros,[c] whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes. During the time when he ruled the Persian empire, the entire nation of the Jews, with their wives and children, was in danger of being destroyed. The reason for this we shall explain presently,[d] for it is in place first to relate the history of this king and how he married a Jewish woman of royal family,[e] who is also said to have saved our nation. Now, after Artaxerxes took over the royal power and appointed Esther i. 1

[c] So Gutschmid has ingeniously emended the MS. reading "Cyrus" (*Asuēros* is also found in Luc., as a transliteration of Heb. *'Aḥašwērōš* = bibl. Ahasueros). The Heb. *'Aḥašwērōš* is, in reality, a rendering of the Persian *Khšayarša* of which the Greek form is Xerxes, but the LXX here has Artaxerxes, hence Josephus's equation of *'Aḥašwērōš* with Artaxerxes.

[d] In §§ 209 ff.

[e] According to Scripture (Est. ii. 5) Mordecai, Esther's uncle (*cf.* § 198 note *d*), was a descendant of "Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite," on the basis of which rabbinic tradition makes him a descendant of King Saul, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 381 ff., vi. 458.

καταστήσας ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας ἄχρι Αἰθιοπίας τῶν σατραπειῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσιεπτὰ οὐσῶν ἄρχοντας, τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει τούς τε φίλους καὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ὑποδεξάμενος εἱστία πολυτελῶς, οἷον εἰκὸς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τοῦ πλούτου παρασκευαζομένῳ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα
187 ἔπειτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς αὐτῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἐπὶ ἡμέρας κατευώχησεν ἑπτά. τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον γεγενημένον· σκήνωμα πηξάμενος ἐκ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων κιόνων ὕφη λίνεα καὶ πορφύρεα κατ' αὐτῶν διεπέτασεν,[1] ὥστε πολλὰς μυριάδας κατα-
188 κλίνεσθαι. διηκονοῦντο δὲ ἐκπώμασι χρυσέοις καὶ τοῖς διὰ λίθου πολυτελοῦς εἰς τέρψιν ἅμα καὶ θέαν πεποιημένοις. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι πίνειν, τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς προσφέροντας, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὃ βούλεται τῶν κατα-
189 κειμένων ἕκαστος φιλοφρονεῖσθαι. διαπέμψας δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν παρήγγειλεν ἀνεῖσθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀφιεμένους καὶ ἑορτάζειν ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας
190 αὐτοῦ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις. ὁμοίως τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ βασίλισσα Ἄστη[2] συνήγαγε συμπόσιον ἐν τοῖς

[1] V: ἐπέτασεν PFLAW.
[2] ex seqq. in codd. PF Niese: αὐτῇ PF (hic) LA Οὔαστη VWE et infra LA Lat.

[a] So Heb and Luc , LXX " in the city "
[b] So Heb and Luc., LXX 6.
[c] *Cf* LXX " cubes of gold and silver, on pillars of Parian marble and stone "; Heb " rings of silver and pillars of marble ", Luc " cubes of silver and pillars of Parian marble and with gilding "

officers over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign he welcomed his friends and the Persian tribes and their governors, and entertained them lavishly, as became a king who wished to make a display of the wealth which he had acquired, for one hundred and eighty days Then he feasted the nations and their envoys at Susa [a] for seven [b] days Now the banquet was served in the following manner They set up a pavilion on gold and silver pillars,[c] over which they spread linen and purple cloth so that many myriads could recline at table [d] And they were served out of bowls made of gold or precious stones [e] for the pleasure of those who beheld them. The king also commanded his servants not to force them to drink by bringing them wine continually, as is the custom among the Persians, but to permit each of the banqueters to use his own judgement in satisfying his desires [f] He also sent throughout the country and proclaimed to the people that they might give up their work and rest and celebrate for many days in honour of his reign [g] And Queen Astē [h] similarly brought together the women for a banquet in her

[d] Josephus here omits several scriptural details.

[e] So LXX and Luc., Heb "vessels of gold and various vessels"

[f] *Cf* LXX "And the drinking was not according to the established law, so the king wished, and ordered the stewards to do his wish and the men's"; Heb "And the drinking was according to law; no one compelled (them), for so the king instructed every noble of his household, to do the wish of each man" (or "that each man do as he wished"); Luc "And the drinking was according to law, for so the king ordered, to do the wish of the men."

[g] This sentence is an addition to Scripture.

[h] Variant Ouastē (=Wastē).

βασιλείοις, ἣν ἐπιδεῖξαι βουλόμενος τοῖς ἑστιωμένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἥκειν, κάλλει τὰς γυναῖκας ἁπάσας
191 ὑπερβάλλουσαν. ἡ δὲ φυλακῇ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμων, οἳ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις βλέπεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπηγορεύκασιν, οὐκ ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς αὐτήν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐνέμεινε[1] παραιτουμένη τὴν
192 ἄφιξιν, ὡς εἰς ὀργὴν παροξυνθέντα τὸν βασιλέα λῦσαι μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀναστάντα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν, οἳ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξήγησιν ἔχουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς, καλέσαντα κατηγορεῖν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ λέγειν ὡς ὑβρισθείη πρὸς αὐτῆς κληθεῖσα γὰρ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ συμ-
193 πόσιον ὑπήκουσεν οὐδ' ἅπαξ προσέταξεν οὖν δηλοῦν τίνα κατ' αὐτῆς νόμον ὁρίζουσιν. ἑνὸς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν Μουχαίου[2] ὄνομα εἰπόντος οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ταύτην γεγονέναι τὴν ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ[3] πᾶσι Πέρσαις οἷς κινδυνεύεται καταφρονουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἴσχιστα διαγεγονέναι τὸν βίον
194 (" οὐδεμία γὰρ τοῦ συνοικοῦντος ἀνδρὸς αἰδῶ ποιήσεται, παράδειγμα τὴν τῆς βασιλίσσης ὑπερηφανίαν πρὸς σὲ τὸν κρατοῦντα ἁπάντων ἔχουσα ") παρακελευομένου δὲ[4] τὴν οὕτως ἐνυβρίζουσαν

[1] E: ἀνέμεινε codd. [2] 'Αμουχαίου WE: Nocheus Lat. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ E: ἀλλὰ codd. [4] τε VWE.

[a] Bibl " in the palace of King Ahasuerus "

[b] Scripture gives no reason for Vashti's refusal The Targum adds that she was ordered to appear naked before the king's guests For the curious rabbinic legends about Vashti's behaviour on this occasion see Ginzberg iv 374 ff, vi 455.

palace,[a] but the king, wishing to show her to his guests, for she surpassed all women in beauty, sent and ordered her to come to his banquet. She, however, in observance of the laws of the Persians, which forbid their women to be seen by strangers,[b] did not go to the king and though he repeatedly sent the eunuchs to her, none the less persisted in her refusal to come, until the king, being provoked to anger, broke up the banquet and, arising and calling the Seven Persians, who have charge of the interpretation of the laws among them, accused his wife and said that he had been insulted by her, for though she had repeatedly been called by him to the banquet, she had not once obeyed He therefore commanded them to declare what law they would make against her. Thereupon one of them, named Mūchaios,[c] said that this insult affected not only himself but all the Persians, for they were in danger of having to lead a shameful life because of being contemptuously treated by their wives. " No woman," he said, " will show any respect for her husband, since she will have an example in the arrogance of the queen toward you, who have power over all men." He therefore urged him to inflict severe punishment on the woman

The queen refuses to attend the banquet
Esther i 12

[c] So LXX, variant (in Jos.) Amūchaios; bibl Memucan (*M^emūkān*), Luc Μουχαῖος, *v l.* Βουγαῖος. The Targum identifies him with Haman, whereas later rabbinic tradition identifies him with Daniel In view of this identification with Haman, it is curious that the LXX in vs. 10 has Ἀμάν =Haman for the first named of the 7 eunuchs of the king, while Heb. has Mehuman Scripture, however, distinguishes plainly between Mehuman and Memucan, the former being one of the 7 eunuchs of the king, while the latter is one of the " seven princes of Persia and Media " who act as his counsellors (so Heb., LXX and Luc. omit " seven " and name only 3 of these " princes ")

αὐτῷ ζημιῶσαι μεγάλην ζημίαν καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα διαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης κεκυρωμένα, ἔδοξε τὴν Ἄστην ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν ἑτέρᾳ γυναικί.

195 (2) Διακείμενος δὲ[1] πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐρωτικῶς καὶ μὴ φέρων τὴν διάζευξιν, καταλλαγῆναι μὲν αὐτῇ διὰ τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐδύνατο, λυπούμενος δὲ ὡς ἐπ'[2] ἀδυνάτοις οἷς ἤθελε διετέλει. βλέποντες δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα χαλεπῶς οἱ φίλοι συνεβούλευον τὴν μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς μνήμην καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα μηδὲν
196 ὠφελούμενον ἐκβαλεῖν, ζητῆσαι δὲ περιπέμψαντα καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην παρθένους εὐπρεπεῖς, ὧν τὴν προκριθεῖσαν ἕξειν γυναῖκα· σβέννυσθαι γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν προτέραν φιλόστοργον ἑτέρας ἐπεισαγωγῇ, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐκείνην εὔνουν ἀποσπώ-
197 μενον κατὰ μικρὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς συνούσης. πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτῃ προσέταξέ τισιν ἐπιλεξαμένοις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας ἐπ' εὐμορφίᾳ τῶν ἐν
198 τῇ βασιλείᾳ παρθένων ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. συναχθεισῶν δὲ πολλῶν εὑρέθη τις ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κόρη τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρων ὀρφανή, παρὰ τῷ θείῳ Μαρδοχαίῳ (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ) τρεφομένη· οὗτος δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, τῶν δὲ
199 πρώτων παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. πασῶν δὲ τὴν

[1] + ὁ βασιλεὺς V. [2] ed pr : ἐν codd

[a] Scripture does not tell what happened to Vashti after she was dethroned According to rabbinic tradition she was executed, *cf* Ginzberg iv 378, vi 456

[b] The preceding is an amplification of Scripture

[c] According to Scripture Esther was then in Susa with Mordecai Josephus's reference to Babylon is apparently based on Est ii 6, which says that Mordecai was one of the Jews whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had

who had so grievously insulted him and, when he had done this, to announce to the nations what had been decreed against the queen; and so it was decided to send Astē away [a] and to give her high position to another woman.

(2) Now, although the king was in love with her and could not bear the separation, he could not, because of the law, be reconciled to her, and so he continued to grieve at not being able to obtain his desire. But, when his friends saw him in this unhappy state, they advised him to cast out the memory of his wife and his love for her, which was doing him no good, and to send throughout the entire habitable world in search of beautiful virgins and take as his wife the one who pleased him best, for, they said, his passion for his former wife would be quelled by replacing her with another, and his affection for her would gradually be diverted to the woman living with him.[b] Following this advice, therefore, he commanded some of his men to select those virgins in the kingdom who were most esteemed for beauty, and bring them to him. Now, among the many who were gathered together, there was found in Babylon [c] a girl who had lost both parents and was being brought up in the home of her uncle,[d] his name being Mordecai.[e] He was of the tribe of Benjamin and was one of the chief men among the Jews.[f] And

Artaxerxes decides to choose a new wife Esther ii. 1

The Jew Mordecai and his niece Esther Esther ii. 5

taken captive—presumably to Babylon. According to rabbinic tradition Mordecai, after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, accompanied Cyrus to Shushan (Susa) and there established an academy, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 383.

[d] Scripture says that Esther was the daughter of Mordecai's uncle, *i.e.* his cousin, but rabbinic tradition, like Josephus, makes her his niece.

[e] Gr. Mardochaios, as in LXX.

[f] *Cf.* § 185 note *e*.

Ἐσθῆρα συνέβαινε (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῇ τοὔνομα) τῷ κάλλει διαφέρειν καὶ τὴν[1] χάριν τοῦ προσώπου
200 τὰς ὄψεις τῶν θεωμένων μᾶλλον ἐπάγεσθαι παραδοθεῖσα δὲ αὕτη τινι τῶν εὐνούχων εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν πάσης ἐτύγχανε προνοίας, ἀρωμάτων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ὧν χρῄζει τὰ σώματα καταρδομένη,[2] καὶ τούτων ἀπέλαυον ἐπὶ μῆνας
201 ἓξ τετρακόσιαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὖσαι. ὅτε δ' ἐνόμιζεν ἀποχρώντως τῷ προειρημένῳ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ταῖς παρθένοις[3] καὶ τοῦ βαδίζειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ κοίτην βασιλέως ἀξίας ἤδη γεγονέναι, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν μίαν ἔπεμπε τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεσομένην ὁ δὲ πλησιάζων εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν εὐνοῦχον.
202 ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς Ἐσθήρας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ καὶ πεσὼν τῆς κόρης εἰς ἔρωτα νομίμως αὐτὴν ἄγεται γυναῖκα καὶ γάμους αὐτῇ ποιεῖται δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἑβδόμου ἔτους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας,
203 Ἀδάρῳ[4] καλουμένῳ διέπεμψε δὲ τοὺς ἀγγάρους λεγομένους εἰς πᾶν ἔθνος, ἑορτάζειν τοὺς γάμους παραγγέλλων, αὐτὸς δὲ Πέρσας[5] καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑστιᾷ ἐπὶ μῆνα ὅλον ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων

[1] διὰ τὴν Cocceji
[2] παραδοθεῖσαι δὲ αὗται . . . ἐτύγχανον . . . καταρδόμεναι ex Lat Niese
[3] Niese: τὰς παρθένους codd.
[4] ex Lat. Naber: Ἀδέρῳ LA: Ἀδέρου PFV: Δεραίου W.
[5] + καὶ τοὺς Μήδους LAVW.

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[a] Josephus does not comment on the fact that in Scripture she is also called Hadassah
[b] Lit "sprinkled"
[c] 12, according to Scripture
[d] Scripture does not specify the number of maidens
[e] So LXX (Adar is approximately March), Heb "in the

Esther—this was her name[a]—surpassed all women in beauty, and the grace of her countenance greatly attracted the eyes of all who beheld her. Being, therefore, given over to one of the eunuchs to be cared for, she received every attention and was anointed[b] with an abundance of spices and costly unguents, such as women's bodies need. This was the treatment enjoyed for six[c] months by the maidens, who were four hundred in number.[d] Then, when he thought that the virgins had had sufficient care in the forementioned period of time and were now fit to come into the king's bed, he sent one every day to lie with the king, who, after having intercourse with her, at once sent her back to the eunuch. But, when Esther came to him, he was pleased with her and then, having fallen in love with her, made her his lawful wife and held their wedding in the twelfth month, called Adar,[e] in the seventh year of his reign. He also sent out messengers called *angaroi*[f] to every nation, inviting them to celebrate the wedding, while he himself entertained the Persians[g] and the chief men of the nations for a whole month[h] in honour of his marriage; and, when

Artaxerxes takes Esther as his wife Esther ii. 16

tenth month, which is the month of Tebeth (approximately January)." Strictly speaking, this was not the date of the wedding but when Esther "was taken to King Ahasuerus, into his palace." Scripture does not specify how long afterward the wedding was celebrated.

[f] Unscriptural detail, *cf.* Herodotus iii. 126. The Gr. *angaros*, derived from Persian, is ultimately of Babylonian origin.

[g] The variant adds "and the Medes."

[h] For 7 days, according to LXX; Heb. does not say how long the feast lasted. Josephus, moreover, omits the scriptural detail of the royal amnesty then proclaimed.

αὐτοῦ, εἰσελθούσης δὲ εἰς τὸ βασίλειον περιτίθησι αὐτῇ τὸ διάδημα, καὶ συνῴκησεν οὕτως Ἐσθήρ, μὴ ποιήσασα φανερὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος ἐξ οὗπερ εἴη
204 *τυγχάνουσα. μεταβὰς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῆς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Σοῦσα τῆς Περσίδος αὐτόθι διῆγεν, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβων καὶ πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῆς κόρης τίνα διάγει τρόπον· ἔστεργεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς αὑτοῦ θυγατέρα.*

205 (3) *Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἰδίων*[1] *αὐτῷ προσιέναι μὴ κληθέντα, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθέζοιτο περιεστήκεσαν δὲ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ πελέκεις ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς προσιόντας ἀκλήτους τῷ θρόνῳ.*
206 *καθῆστο μέντοι λύγον χρυσέαν ἔχων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἣν ὅτε*[2] *τινὰ σώζειν ἤθελε τῶν ἀκλήτως προσιόντων ἐξέτεινε πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ δὲ ἁπτόμενος αὐτῆς ἀκίνδυνος ἦν καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.*

207 (4) *Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ*

[1] *ἰδιωτῶν* conj. Chamonard
[2] Dindorf: *ὅταν* codd E.

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[a] *Cf.* § 198 note *c*
[b] In Est ii 19 Heb. has the puzzling statement, " And

Esther entered the palace, he placed the diadem on her head, and so she lived with him but did not reveal to him the nation from which she came. Then her uncle moved from Babylon to Susa in Persia and dwelt there;[a] every day he lingered about the palace, inquiring about the girl and how she fared, for he loved her as his own daughter.[b]

The law against approaching the throne

(3) Now the king had made a law that none of his people[c] should approach him whenever he sat on the throne, unless he were summoned And round his throne stood men with axes to punish any who approached the throne without being summoned. The king himself, however, as he sat held a golden wand which he extended to anyone whom he wished to save of those who approached without being summoned; and whoever touched this was out of danger But of these things we have now said enough[d]

(4) Some time afterward Bagathōos[e] and Theo-

when the virgins were gathered a second time, Mordecai sat in the king's gate," while LXX merely reads "And Mordecai was in attendance (ἐθεράπευεν) in the court." Josephus's statement above is apparently based on the LXX text of this verse, although he may have connected the Heb. here with the earlier verse, ii. 11, which says that Mordecai came to the women's palace every day to inquire about Esther—this being during the period before she was chosen queen

[c] For ἰδίων "his own (people)" Chamonard suggests ἰδιωτῶν "commoners"

[d] The preceding is an amplification of Est. v 2, *cf.* § 238. The detail about the "men with axes" is an invention of Josephus For rabbinic traditions concerning the difficulties of approaching the king *cf.* Ginzberg iv 427 ff.

[e] Bibl. Bigthan, most LXX MSS omit this and the following name, but cod Sin corr has Βαγαθάν, and the LXX in apocr. add. A has Γαβαθά, Luc Ἀστα(γ)ής.

βασιλεῖ Βαγαθώου καὶ Θεοδέστου,[1] Βαρνάβαζος[2] τῶν εὐνούχων οἰκέτης τοῦ ἑτέρου, τὸ γένος ὢν Ἰουδαῖος, συνεὶς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ θείῳ κατεμήνυσε τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Μαρδοχαίῳ, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἐσθήρας φανεροὺς ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεῖ
208 τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. ταραχθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τἀληθὲς ἐξεῦρεν καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἀνεσταύρωσεν, τῷ δὲ Μαρδοχαίῳ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν παρέσχεν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας γεγονότι, μόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς τὰ ὑπομνήματα συγγραφομένοις ἐκέλευσε σημειώσασθαι καὶ προσμένειν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὄντα φίλον ἀναγκαιότατον τῷ βασιλεῖ.
209 (5) Ἀμάνην δὲ Ἀμαδάθου[3] μὲν υἱὸν τὸ γένος δὲ Ἀμαληκίτην εἰσιόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνουν οἵ τε ξένοι καὶ Πέρσαι, ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν

[1] Θεοδοσίτου PFV [2] Φαρνάβαζος conj Hudson.
[3] Ἀμαθάδου FLA · Ἀμαδάνου W

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[a] Variant Theodositēs, bibl. Teresh, LXX cod Sin. corr. Θαράς, LXX apocr add A Θάρρα, Luc Θεδευτός Josephus's form, Theodestēs, seems to be based on the Luc reading in the apocr add, which, in turn, may be a corruption of Heb *Tereš*, as *r* and *d* are very much alike in Heb script, as Reinach notes. H Willrich (cited by C Emmet in R. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, i. 160 n 8) connects the names Theodestēs in Josephus and Thedeutos in Luc. with the Theodotos mentioned in 3 Maccabees i 2 as an Egyptian deserter who attempted to kill King Ptolemy IV. The suggestion is ingenious but not convincing

[b] Suggested variant Pharnabazos (the Greek form of a common Iranian name). Barnabazos is an invention of Josephus (or his non-biblical source). According to Scripture Mordecai was sitting in " the gate of the king " when the eunuchs were plotting, and " the thing became known to Mordecai ", according to the LXX apocr add. A Mordecai himself overheard the plot. For rabbinic legends about

destēs[a] plotted against the king, but Barnabazos,[b] the servant of one of these eunuchs, who was a Jew by race, discovered their plot and revealed it to Mordecai, the uncle of the king's wife, and he in turn through Esther exposed the plotters to the king. The king, being alarmed, investigated and found out the truth and crucified the eunuchs; as for Mordecai, at the time he gave him no reward for saving his life but only ordered the keepers of the archives to note his name and let him remain in the palace as a very close friend of the king.[c]

Mordecai discovers a plot against the king. Esther ii. 21.

(5) Now whenever Haman,[d] the son of Amadathos,[e] who was of Amalekite descent,[f] went in to the king, the foreigners and Persians[g] prostrated them-

Haman's hatred of Mordecai and the Jews. Esther iii. 1.

Mordecai's part in detecting the conspiracy *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 391 ff.

[c] This last detail about Mordecai's remaining in the palace "as a very close friend of the king" seems to be based on apocr. add. A (xii. 25) which reads, "and the king commanded that Mardochaios should be in attendance in the court, and he gave him gifts for these things," Luc. "and the king commanded concerning Mardochaios that he should be in attendance in the king's court and openly (ἐπιφανῶς) watch every door." The Heb. text of Est. ii. 23 says nothing as to Mordecai's position after the eunuchs were executed, while LXX reads "the king ordered a memorial to be written in the royal library in praise of Mardochaios's loyalty."

[d] Gr. Amanēs, LXX Ἀμάν.

[e] So LXX; bibl. Hammedatha.

[f] So Targum and rabbinic tradition explain the Heb. gentilic *hā-'agāgî* (A.V. "Agagite"; LXX Βουγαῖος; Luc. Γωγαῖος,—in apocr. add. A Luc. has "Macedonian"), making Haman a descendant of Agag, "the king of the Amalekites" in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 8). For rabbinic traditions concerning the complete genealogy of Haman *cf.* Ginzberg vi. 462 ff.

[g] Heb. "all the servants of the king who were in the king's gate," LXX "all those in the court," Luc. "all (men)."

τιμὴν παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀρταξέρξου κελεύοντος γενέσθαι.
210 Μαρδοχαίου δὲ διὰ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἴκοθεν αὐτοῦ
νόμον οὐ προσκυνοῦντος ἄνθρωπον,[1] παραφυλάξας
ὁ Ἀμάνης ἐπυνθάνετο πόθεν εἴη. μαθὼν δ' αὐτὸν
ὄντα Ἰουδαῖον ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν
ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι Πέρσαι προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτόν,
211 οὗτος δὲ δοῦλος ὢν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ
τιμωρήσασθαι θελήσας τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον, αὐτὸν μὲν
αἰτήσασθαι πρὸς κόλασιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
μικρὸν ἡγήσατο, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος αὐτοῦ διέγνω πᾶν
ἀφανίσαι· καὶ γὰρ φύσει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπηχθάνετο,
ὅτι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἦν αὐτός,
212 ὑπ' αὐτῶν διέφθαρτο. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ
κατηγόρει λέγων ἔθνος εἶναί τι πονηρόν, δι-
εσπάρθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασι-
λευομένης οἰκουμένης, ἄμικτον ἀσύμφυλον οὔτε
θρησκείαν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχον οὔτε νόμοις
χρώμενον ὁμοίοις, "ἐχθρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ
τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν τῷ σῷ λαῷ καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώ-
213 ποις. τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, εἴ τινα θέλεις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι, κελεύσεις πρόρριζον ἀπ-

[1] τὸν ἄνθρωπον Bekker.

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[a] Scripture gives no explanation of Mordecai's refusal to bow down.

[b] Suggested variant "the."

[c] This explanation of Haman's hatred of the Jews is an unscriptural detail, but also found in the Targum to this verse (iii 6). Josephus here passes over the confused statement in vs 7 of which the Heb. text reads, "In the first month, which is the month of Nisan, in the twelfth year of King Ahasuerus, he cast Pur, that is, the lot before Haman from day to day and from month to the twelfth month, which is the month of Adar." LXX reads more intelligibly, "And

selves before him, for Artaxerxes had ordered that he should receive this honour from them. But Mordecai because of his wisdom and his native law [a] would not prostrate himself before any [b] man, and Haman, having observed this, inquired from what people he came And when he learned that he was a Jew, he became indignant and remarked to himself that whereas the free-born Persians prostrated themselves before him, this man, who was a slave, did not see fit to do so And although he wished to be avenged on Mordecai, he considered it too little to ask that he alone be punished by the king, but decided to exterminate his whole nation, for he naturally hated the Jews because his own race, the Amalekites, had been destroyed by them.[c] Accordingly, he went to the king and brought a charge, saying that there was a certain wicked nation scattered throughout the habitable land ruled by him, which was unfriendly and unsocial and neither had the same religion nor practised the same laws as others, "but both by its customs and practices it is the enemy of your people and of all mankind. If you wish to lay up a store of good deeds [d] with your subjects, you will give orders to destroy this nation

he made a decree in the twelfth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, and he cast lots day by day and month by month, to destroy the race of Mardochaios in one day ; and the lot fell on the fourteenth day of the month which is Adar"—meaning that the massacre was set for the 14th day of Adar (the 12th month). This is the date given in apocr. add. B (xiii 6) which is followed by Josephus below, § 219 ; but according to Scripture (iii 13 Heb. and Luc.,—LXX omits the day) the massacre was to take place on the 13th of Adar. Josephus ignores this discrepancy in his sources.

[d] εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι is a Thucydidean phrase, *cf.* Thuc. i. 128.

ολέσθαι μηδέ τι αὐτοῦ λείψανον καταλιπεῖν μήτ' εἰς δουλείαν τινῶν φυλαχθέντων μήτε αἰχμαλωσίαν."
214 ἵνα μέντοι μὴ ζημιωθῇ[1] τοὺς φόρους τοὺς πάρ' αὐτῶν γινομένους, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας αὐτὸς ἐπηγγείλατο μυριάδας δώσειν ταλάντων ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας, ὅπου ἂν κελεύσῃ. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα παρέχειν ἡδέως ἔλεγεν, ἵν' ἀπὸ τούτων εἰρηνευθῇ τῶν κακῶν ἡ βασιλεία.

215 (6) Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμάνου ἀξιώσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ χαρίζεται καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλεται. τυχὼν δὲ ὧν ἐπεθύμει Ἀμάνης παραχρῆμα πέμπει διάταγμα ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη
216 περιέχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον "βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σατραπειῶν ἄρχουσι τάδε γράφει. πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξας καὶ πάσης ἧς ἐβουλήθην κρατήσας οἰκουμένης καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπερήφανον μηδὲ σκαιὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀναγκασθεὶς ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ καὶ πρᾷον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ προνοησάμενος εἰρήνης καὶ εὐνομίας[2] αὐτοῖς, ἐζήτουν πῶς εἰς
217 ἅπαντα τούτων ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο τοῦ δὲ διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην παρ' ἐμοὶ τὴν πρώτην μοῖραν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἔχοντος καὶ μετ'

[1] ζημιωθῇς PFLA.
[2] εὐνομίας ἀφορμὰς LA. εὐνομίαν W.

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[a] Bibl 10 Scripture adds that the money was to be paid into the royal treasury

[b] This sentence is an addition to Scripture

[c] On the 13th day of the 1st month (Nisan), according to Scripture (iii 12) Josephus also omits the scriptural detail

root and branch and leave not a remnant of them to be kept either in slavery or in captivity." Lest the king, however, suffer the loss of the tribute collected from them, he offered to give out of his own property forty[a] thousand talents of silver whenever the king should give the order. This sum of money he said he would gladly furnish in order that the kingdom might be rid of this plague and have peace.[b]

Haman publishes the king's edict against the Jews Esther iii 11

(6) After Haman had made this request, the king presented him with both the money and the men to do as he pleased with them. And, on obtaining his desire, Haman immediately sent out an edict[c] in the king's name to all the nations, of which the contents were as follows[d]: "The decree of the great king Artaxerxes to the rulers of the one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia: While I have ruled over many nations and have had dominion over all the habitable land which I could wish, I have not been compelled because of my power to wrong my subjects by any arrogant or brutal act, but have shown myself considerate and mild and have looked out for their peace and good government, seeking how they might enjoy these things for ever. But Haman, who because of his prudence and uprightness receives the first share of glory and honour from me and because of his

Apocr Esther xiii 1 (Add B 1)

(*vs.* 10) that the king gave Haman his seal-ring (as a symbol of authority).

[d] The following decree is a close paraphrase of the text given in the apocr. Esther, xiii. 1 ff. Scripture here (iii. 12-13) says briefly that the king's letter was sent to all the officers throughout the kingdom and ordered them to kill all the Jews on the 13th day of the 12th month (Adar), *cf.* above, note *c*, p. 416.

ἐμὲ δευτέρου διὰ πίστιν καὶ βέβαιον εὔνοιαν Ἀμάνου κηδεμονικῶς ὑποδείξαντός μοι παντάπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναμεμῖχθαι δυσμενὲς ἔθνος καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνυπότακτον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν μισοῦν καὶ δύσνουν τοῖς ἡμετέροις
218 πράγμασι, κελεύω τοὺς δηλουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου μου πατρὸς Ἀμάνου πάντας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι μηδεμίαν φειδῶ ποιησαμένους, μηδ' ἐλέῳ πλέον ἢ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις πεισθέντας[1]
219 παρακοῦσαι τῶν γεγραμμένων καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι βούλομαι τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, ὅπως οἱ πανταχόθεν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθαρέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ μετ' εἰρήνης ἡμῖν τὸν βίον διάγειν παρέχωσι."
220 τούτου κομισθέντος τοῦ προστάγματος εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν ἕτοιμοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπώλειαν[2] εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἐγίνοντο ἐσπεύδετο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σούσοις.[3] ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀμάνης πρὸς εὐωχίαις καὶ πότοις ἦσαν, ἐν ταραχῇ δ' ἦν ἡ πόλις.

221 (7) Ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον, περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σάκκον ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ καταχεάμενος σποδιὰν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐφέρετο βοῶν ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαν ἔθνος ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ τοῦτο λέγων ἕως τῶν βασιλείων ἦλθε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔστη οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν εἰσελθεῖν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον
222 περικειμένῳ σχῆμα τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίησαν οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐν αἷς τὰ περὶ τούτων προετέθη γράμματα, θρηνοῦντες καὶ

[1] ὑπαχθέντας LAW [2] + καὶ παντελῆ ἐξολόθρευσιν V.
[3] Hudson, *cf* Lat. Susis: τῇ Σούσῃ codd.

faithfulness and steadfast loyalty is second after myself, has solicitously shown me that there is an unfriendly nation mingled with all mankind, which has peculiar laws, is insubordinate to kings, is different in its customs, hates monarchy and is disloyal to our government, wherefore I order you to destroy all those who are pointed out by Haman, my second father, with their wives and children, without sparing anyone or disobeying my written orders by giving more heed to pity than to my instructions It is my will that this shall take place on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of the present year, in order that our enemies everywhere may be destroyed in one day and so let us lead our lives in peace thereafter." When this decree was brought to the cities and the country districts, they all made themselves ready for the destruction of the Jews on the forementioned day And haste was made in Susa as well. And so the king and Haman were busy with feasting and drinking, while the city was in commotion

(7) When Mordecai learned what had been done, Esther iii 14
he rent his clothes, put on sackcloth, sprinkled ashes on his head and went about the city, crying that a nation which had done no wrong was to be destroyed;[a] still saying this, he came as far as the palace but stopped there, for it was not lawful for him to enter it clothed in such attire And the same was done by all the Jews in the cities in Mordecai's distress
which the decree concerning these matters had Esther iv 1
been published, they also wailing and lamenting

[a] The words "that a nation which had done no wrong," etc. are taken from the LXX; Heb has merely "cried out with a loud and bitter cry."

τὰς κατηγγελμένας αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ὀδυρόμενοι
ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλάν τινες τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τὸν Μαρ-
δοχαῖον ἐν οὕτως οἰκτρῷ σχήματι πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς
ἑστῶτα, ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξέπεμπε
223 τοὺς μεταμφιάσοντας αὐτόν. οὐ πεισθέντος δὲ
ἀποδύσασθαι τὸν σάκκον (οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦτον
ἀναγκασθείη λαβεῖν δεινῷ πεπαῦσθαι τοῦτο) προσ-
καλεσαμένη τὸν εὐνοῦχον Ἀχράθεον (καὶ γὰρ
ἔτυχεν αὐτῇ παρών) ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Μαρδοχαῖον
γνωσόμενον τίνος συμβεβηκότος αὐτῷ σκυθρωποῦ
πενθεῖ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο περικείμενος οὐδ'
224 αὐτῆς παρακαλούσης ἀπέθετο. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος
ἐπέδειξε τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὴν αἰτίαν, τό τε γράμμα
τὸ κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ
βασιλεῖ χώραν διαπεμφθὲν καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων
ὑπόσχεσιν ᾗ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ ἔθνους ὠνεῖτο[1]
225 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀμάνης. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ
τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐν Σούσοις προτεθέντων
κομίσαι τῇ Ἐσθῆρι, περὶ[2] τούτων δεηθῆναι τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐνετέλλετο καὶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ
ἔθνους μὴ ἀδοξῆσαι λαβεῖν σχῆμα ταπεινόν, ᾧ
παραιτήσεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κινδυνεύοντας ἀπ-
ολέσθαι· τὸν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν ἔχοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ
τιμὴν Ἀμάνην κατηγορήσαντα τῶν Ἰουδαίων
226 παρωξυγκέναι κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα. ταῦτα
γνοῦσα πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς Μαρδοχαῖον δηλοῦσα
ὅτι μήτε κληθείη πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ εἰσ-

[1] ὠνήσατο ed. pr.: ἠτεῖτο P: comparaverat Lat.
[2] E: καὶ περὶ codd.

[a] Mordecai's explanation is an unscriptural detail. For a rabbinic parallel cf. Ginzberg iv. 419.
[b] Cf. LXX Ἀχραθαῖος, bibl. Hatach.

the disaster which had been announced to them. But, when certain persons reported to the queen that Mordecai was standing before the court in this miserable attire, she was troubled by what she heard and sent out men to dress him differently. As he could not, however, be persuaded to take off his sackcloth—for the danger which had compelled him to wear it, he said, was not yet over[a]—she called to her the eunuch Achratheos,[b] who happened to be nearby,[c] and sent him to Mordecai to find out what depressing thing had happened to him that he was in mourning and clothed in that attire, which he would not take off even at her request. Thereupon Mordecai explained the reason to the eunuch, which was the decree against the Jews sent throughout the entire country ruled by the king, and the promise of the money with which Haman had bought[d] from the king the destruction of their nation. Then he gave him a copy of the decree published in Susa to take to Esther, and instructed her to petition the king concerning these matters, and for the safety of her nation not to consider it beneath her dignity to put on humble attire in which to intercede for the Jews who were in danger. For, he said, Haman, who held a place of honour second to the king, had accused the Jews and provoked his anger against them.[e] When she learned these things, she again sent to Mordecai, informing him that she had not been summoned by

Mordecai asks Esther to save the Jews Esther iv. 7

[c] So LXX; Heb. "whom he (the king) had set before her" (A.V. "had appointed to attend upon her").

[d] Variant "asked."

[e] The details about Esther's humble attire and Haman's action are based on the LXX addition to Est. iv. 8; Heb. has merely "that she should go into the king to make supplication to him and to make request before him for her people."

ερχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκλητος ἀποθνήσκει, πλὴν εἰ
μή τινα σώζειν βουλόμενος προτείνειε τὸν χρυσῆν
ῥάβδον· ᾧ γὰρ[1] τοῦτο ποιήσειεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκλήτῳ
πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντι,[2] οὗτος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει
227 μόνος, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχὼν σώζεται. Μαρ-
δοχαῖος δὲ τούτους κομίσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐνούχου
παρὰ τῆς Ἐσθῆρος τοὺς λόγους ἀπαγγέλλειν
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν οὕτω σκοπεῖν σω-
τηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ ἔθνους· εἰ γὰρ
ἀμελήσειε τούτου νῦν, ἔσεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντως, αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν πατρῷον
οἶκον αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλιγωρηθέντων διαφθαρή-
228 σεσθαι. ἡ δὲ Ἐσθὴρ ἐπέστειλε μὲν τῷ Μαρ-
δοχαίῳ, τὸν αὐτὸν πέμψασα διάκονον, εἰς Σοῦσα
πορευθέντι τοὺς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
συναγαγεῖν καὶ νηστεῦσαι πάντων ἀποσχομένους
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιήσασα
μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων τότε προσελεύσεσθαι τῷ
βασιλεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπισχνεῖτο, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν
δέῃ τοῦτο ὑπομενεῖν.[3] [a]

229 (8) Καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος μὲν κατὰ τὰς τῆς Ἐσθῆρος
ἐντολὰς τόν τε λαὸν ἐποίησε νηστεῦσαι, καὶ τὸν
θεὸν αὐτὸς[4] ἱκέτευσε[5] μηδὲ νῦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἔθνος ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ
πολλάκις προενόησε καὶ ἁμαρτόντι συνέγνω, καὶ
νῦν αὐτὸ ῥύσασθαι τῆς κατηγγελμένης ἀπωλείας·

[1] γὰρ ἂν FLAVW.
[2] πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντι FVW Lat : πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι LA: προσελθόντι P.
[3] Niese: ὑπομένειν codd. E.
[4] E: αὐτὸν PF: σὺν αὐτοῖς LAW: om. V.
[5] W: ἱκετεῦσαι rell. E Lat.

[a] Chamonard and Reinach believe that this last sentence,

the king and that whoever went in to him without being summoned would die, unless the king, wishing to save him, extended the golden staff to him For only one to whom the king did so, on his coming in to him without being summoned, obtained pardon and was saved from death.[a] Thereupon Mordecai ordered the eunuch who had brought this message to him from Esther to tell her not to look out for her own safety so much as the common safety of their nation, for if she now neglected them, they would surely receive help from God, while she and her father's house would be destroyed by those who had been neglected Thereupon Esther sent the same attendant and instructed Mordecai to go to Susa[b] and gather the Jews there in assembly, adding that they should fast on her behalf and abstain from all food for three days; and she promised to do the same together with her maids, and then approach the king in spite of the law and, if she must die, to bear this bravely

(8) [c] And so Mordecai in accordance with Esther's instructions made the people fast, and himself[d] supplicated God not to turn away now from His nation, which was perishing, but, just as He had often before provided for them and forgiven them when they sinned, so now also to deliver them from the destruction with which they had been threatened.

Mordecai and the Jews pray for deliverance Apocr Esther xiii. 8 (Add C 1).

which seems superfluous, is interpolated from § 206 But Josephus is not seldom guilty of needless repetition

[b] Josephus forgets that he has already indicated that Mordecai was in Susa, *cf.* § 221 In Scripture Esther says, "gather together all the Jews that are present in Susa."

[c] The following section, down to § 242, is based on the apocr additions, Est xiii. 8-xv. 16.

[d] Variant "with them."

230 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁμαρτόν τι κινδυνεύειν ἀκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ εἰδέναι[1] τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς Ἀμάνου
ὀργῆς, "ὅτι μὴ προσεκύνησα μηδ' ἣν σοί, δέ-
σποτα," φησίν, "τιμὴν παρεῖχον, ταύτην ἐκείνῳ
παρασχεῖν ὑπέμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ταῦτα κατὰ τῶν
μὴ παραβαινόντων τοὺς σοὺς νόμους ἐμηχανήσατο"
231 τὰς δ' αὐτὰς ἠφίει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φωνάς, παρα-
καλοῦν προνοῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν
καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ γῇ[2] Ἰσραηλίτας ἐξελέσθαι
τῆς μελλούσης συμφορᾶς· καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
αὐτὴν εἶχον ἤδη καὶ προσεδόκων ἱκέτευε δὲ καὶ
Ἐσθὴρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, ῥίψασα κατὰ
232 τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὴν καὶ πενθικὴν ἐσθῆτα περιθεμένη,
καὶ τροφῇ καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἡδέσιν ἀποταξαμένη,[3]
τρισὶν ἡμέραις ᾔτει τὸν θεὸν ἐλεηθῆναι μὲν αὐτήν,
δόξαι δ' ὀφθεῖσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ πιθανὴν μὲν τοὺς
λόγους παρακαλοῦσαν, τὸ δὲ εἶδος εὐπρεπεστέραν
233 τῆς τάχιον οὖσαν, ἵν' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ πρὸς τὴν
παραίτησιν ὀργῆς, εἴ τι παροξυνθείη πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ
βασιλεύς, χρήσαιτο καὶ πρὸς τὴν συνηγορίαν τῶν
ὁμοεθνῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις σαλευόντων, μῖσός τε
γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῶν

[1] εἶναι LAW.
[2] τῇ γῇ P γῇ rell
[3] καὶ τροφῇ . . . ἀποταξαμένῃ om. PFV.

[a] Variant "he (Mordecai) was"
[b] Variant "every"
[c] The variant omits "and refusing . . . comforts", these words are, moreover, an addition by Josephus.
[d] Or, punctuating differently, as other translators do, we

For, he said, it was not for any sin that they were in peril of being ingloriously put to death, but He knew[a] the cause of Haman's anger—"because I did not prostrate myself before him nor bring myself to give him the honour which I have given Thee, O Lord, he was angered and has devised these measures against those who would not transgress Thy laws" The same cry went up from the multitude, who besought God to provide for their safety and deliver the Israelites in all the[b] land from the disaster which was about to befall them; for they saw it already before their eyes and were awaiting it And Esther

Esther's supplication

Apocr Esther xiv 1 (Add C 12)

too supplicated God in the manner of her country, throwing herself on the ground and putting on a mourner's dress and refusing all food and drink and comforts;[c] and for three days she begged God[d] to take pity on her and grant that, when she appeared before the king, her words might seem persuasive as she pleaded, and her person be more beautiful than ever before,[e] in order that she might use both these means to turn aside the king's anger if he should be provoked by her in any way, and be an advocate for her countrymen who were tottering on the brink of disaster, and that the king might be made to feel hatred toward the enemies of the Jews and those

might render, "refusing all food . for three days, she begged God," etc This rendering might seem to be supported by the earlier passage, § 228, in which Esther promises to fast for 3 days. But here Josephus is probably thinking of the apocr verse, xv 1, which says that Esther prayed for 3 days,—so also Josephus writes in § 234 The matter is of no great consequence, perhaps, since the fasting and praying were synchronous, but I believe that here Josephus is laying emphasis on the length of her praying.

[e] According to apocr Esther, she asks for boldness and eloquence.

Ἰουδαίων καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν, ἐὰν ὀλιγωρηθῶσιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, κατασκευάσοντας [1]

234 (9) Ταῦθ᾽ ἱκετεύουσα τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀποδύεται μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ σχῆμα μεταβάλλει, κοσμησαμένη δ᾽ ὡς ἐχρῆν τὴν βασίλισσαν σὺν δυσὶν θεραπαίναις, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐπερειδομένην αὐτὴν κούφως ἔφερεν, ἡ δὲ ἑπομένη τὸ βαθὺ τοῦ ἐνδύματος καὶ μέχρι τῆς γῆς κεχυμένον ἄκροις ἀπῃώρει τοῖς δακτύλοις, ἧκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεστὴ μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος, προσηνὲς δὲ καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπικειμένη τὸ κάλλος.
235 εἰσῄει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ δέους. ὡς δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου γίνεται τὸν βασιλικὸν περικειμένου κόσμον (οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ἐκ ποικίλης μὲν ἐσθῆτος, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθου
236 πολυτελοῦς), φοβερώτερον καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὰ μᾶλλον θεασαμένη καί τι κἀκείνου προσιδόντος αὐτὴν ἀπηνέστερον καὶ διακεκαυμένῳ[2] ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῷ προσώπῳ, πάρεσις αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ δέους λαμβάνει
237 καὶ τοῖς παρὰ πλευρὸν οὖσιν[3] ἀχανὴς ἐπέπεσεν ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν μετέβαλε καὶ δείσας περὶ τῇ γυναικί, μὴ καὶ πάθῃ τι τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου,
238 ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτὴν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεκτᾶτο, κατασπαζόμενός τε καὶ προσομιλῶν ἡδέως καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλῶν καὶ

[1] κατασκευάσοντος A κατασκευάσαντος P κατασκευάσαντας FL^{1}W: κατασκευάσαντα V.
[2] διακεκαλυμμένῳ PFV
[3] ταῖς οὔσαις ex Lat. conj. Hudson.

who would, if the Jews were treated disdainfully by him, bring about the destruction that threatened them.[a]

(9) When she had supplicated God in this manner for three days, she took off the dress which she was wearing and changed her attire, adorning herself as became the queen, and with her two maids, of whom one lightly supported her as she leaned on her, and the other, following, lifted with the tips of her fingers the train of her robe which fell in folds on the ground, she came to the king; and, although her face was covered with blushes, she was adorned with a sweet and dignified beauty. It was with fear, however, that she went in to him. For, when she came into his presence, he was sitting on the throne in his royal apparel—this consisted of a variegated robe adorned with gold and precious stones—which made him seem to her more terrible; and also because he looked at her rather forbiddingly and with a countenance burning[b] with anger, she suddenly became faint with fear and fell senseless at the feet of those who stood beside her. But the king, by the will of God, I believe,[c] changed his feeling and, fearing that his wife might have suffered some very serious injury through her fear, he leaped from his throne and raised her in his arms and brought her back to consciousness, embracing her and speaking to her endearingly and urging her to take heart and

Esther beautifies herself for the king. Apocr. Esther xv. 4 (Add. D 1).

[a] Josephus greatly abridges Esther's prayer as given in the apocrypha.

[b] The variant "uncovered" is obviously corrupt, *cf.* LXX πεπυρωμένον "flaming."

[c] Josephus's expression "I believe" is curious in view of the plain statement of his source (apocr. Est.) that "God changed the spirit of the king into mildness."

μηδὲν ὑποπτεύειν σκυθρωπόν, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἄκλητος ἔλθοι· τὸν γὰρ νόμον τοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους κεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ βασι-
239 λεύουσαν πᾶσαν ἔχειν ἄδειαν. ταῦτα λέγων τὸ
σκῆπτρον αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τὴν ῥάβδον
ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν νόμον,
240 εὐλαβείας αὐτὴν ἀπολύων. ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνα-
ζωπυρήσασα, "δέσποτα," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔχω σοι
τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ συμβεβηκότος μοι ῥᾳδίως εἰπεῖν·
ὡς γὰρ εἶδόν σε μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ φοβερόν,
εὐθὺς ὑπεχώρει μοι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κατελειπόμην
241 ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς." μόλις δ' αὐτῆς καὶ ταῦτα
φθεγγομένης καὶ μετὰ ἀσθενείας, αὐτόν τε ἀγωνία
καὶ ταραχὴ κατελάμβανε καὶ τὴν Ἐσθῆρα εὐ-
ψυχεῖν καὶ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκᾶν παρεθάρρυνεν,
ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἡμίση τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δέοιτο
242 τούτων, παραχωρήσοντος αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ Ἐσθὴρ ἐφ'
ἑστίασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ Ἀμάνου τοῦ φίλου πρὸς αὐτὴν
ἐλθεῖν ἠξίωσεν· παρεσκευακέναι γὰρ αὐτὴν δεῖπνον
ἔλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἐπένευσε καὶ παρῆσαν, μεταξὺ
πίνων τὴν Ἐσθῆρα ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τί
243 βούλεται· μηδενὸς γὰρ ἀτυχήσειν, μηδ' ἂν τὸ
μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὴν
ἐπιοῦσαν ἀνεβάλετο[1] φράζειν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῆς
βούλησιν, εἰ πάλιν ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ Ἀμάνου
ἐφ' ἑστίασιν.
244 (10) Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑποσχομένου ὁ Ἀμάνης
ἐξῆλθε περιχαρὴς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἠξιῶσθαι συν-
δειπνεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῇ Ἐσθῆρι, καὶ ὅτι
μηδεὶς τοσαύτης ἄλλος τυγχάνει παρὰ τοῖς βασι-

[1] Niese: ἀνεβάλλετο codd. E.

not to apprehend a gloomy fate because she had come to him without being summoned; for this law, he said, applied to his subjects, but she, who ruled equally with himself, had complete security. So saying he placed his sceptre in her hand and held out his staff over her bowed head[a] in accordance with the law, and thus freed her from anxiety. Through these acts she revived and said, "My Lord, it is not easy for me to tell you what suddenly came over me, for, so soon as I saw you looking so great and handsome and terrible, my spirit failed me and I was left without life." But, as she uttered these words with difficulty and weakly, anguish and alarm seized him, and he encouraged Esther to be of good cheer and to hope for the best, for, he said, he would grant her even half of the kingdom if she desired it. Thereupon Esther requested him to come to her with his friend Haman to be entertained, for, she said, she had prepared a banquet. He consented, and so they came; and, while he was drinking, he asked Esther to tell him what it was that she wished, for there was nothing, he said, which she could not obtain, even if she wished to have half the kingdom. But she put off telling him her wish until the following day, if he would come to her again with his friend Haman to be entertained.

Esther invites the king and Haman to a banquet. Esther v. 4.

(10) When the king had promised this, Haman went out rejoicing that he alone had been thought worthy to dine with the king at Esther's palace and that no one else had obtained a similar honour from

Haman plans to crucify Mordecai. Esther v. 9.

[a] It is not clear why Josephus distinguishes between a sceptre and a staff, since the apocr. Est. mentions only one golden staff (or sceptre, so Luc.) which the king "laid on her neck."

λεῦσι τιμῆς ἰδὼν δ' ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Μαρδοχαῖον
ὑπερηγανάκτησεν οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ
245 θεασαμένου πρὸς τιμὴν ἐγένετο καὶ παρελθὼν πρὸς
αὐτὸν[1] τὴν γυναῖκα Ζάρασαν[2] ἐκάλεσε καὶ τοὺς
φίλους ὧν παρόντων διηγεῖτο τὴν τιμὴν ἧς οὐ
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολαύοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ
τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ γὰρ σήμερον ὡς δειπνήσειε
παρ' αὐτῇ μόνος σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ κληθείη
246 πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἔλεγέ τε μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι
Μαρδοχαῖον ὁρῶντα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον τῆς
δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαράσας εἰπούσης κελεῦσαι
ξύλον κοπῆναι πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα[3] καὶ πρωὶ παρὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτησάμενον ἀνασταυρῶσαι τὸν
Μαρδοχαῖον, ἐπαινέσας τὴν γνώμην προσέταξε τοῖς
οἰκέταις ξύλον ἑτοιμασαμένους στῆσαι τοῦτο ἐν
247 τῇ αὐλῇ πρὸς τιμωρίαν Μαρδοχαίου καὶ τοῦτο
μὲν ἦν ἕτοιμον ὁ δὲ θεὸς κατεγέλα τῆς Ἀμάνου
πονηρᾶς ἐλπίδος καὶ τὸ συμβησόμενον εἰδὼς
ἐτέρπετο τῷ γενησομένῳ τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως διὰ
248 νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ὕπνον ὁ δ' οὐ
βουλόμενος ἀργῶς ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀλλ'
εἴς τι τῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαφερόντων αὐτὴν ἀνα-
λῶσαι, τὸν γραμματέα κομίσαντα καὶ τῶν πρὸ
αὐτοῦ βασιλέων τὰ ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων
249 πράξεων ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. κομί-
σαντος δὲ καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντος εὑρέθη τις δι'

[1] πρὸς αὐτὸν Hudson: ἔσω πρὸς αὐτὸν LAW: πρὸς αὐτὸν rell.: ἔσω E.
[2] WE Lat Γάζαγαν P Γάζασαν rell.
[3] πεντήκοντα WE Lat

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[a] Amplification of Scripture.
[b] Variants Gazasa, Gazaga, bibl Zeresh, LXX Ζωσάρα.
[c] Variant 50, as in Scripture.

any of the kings[a] But, when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was highly indignant, for no honour was shown him by Mordecai when he saw him And, when he came home, he called Zarasa,[b] his wife, and his friends, and in their presence told of the honour which he enjoyed not only from the king but from the queen as well, for, he said, he had that day dined at her palace alone with the king and had been invited again for the following day He also said that he was not pleased at seeing the Jew Mordecai in the court. Then Zarasa, his wife, told him to order a tree sixty[c] cubits high to be cut down, and in the morning ask the king for leave to crucify Mordecai; and he praised her plan and ordered his servants to make the gallows ready and set it up in the court for the punishment of Mordecai. And so it was prepared. But God mocked Haman's wicked hopes, and knowing what was to happen, rejoiced at the event[d] For that night He deprived the king of sleep,[e] and, as he did not wish to waste his wakeful hours in idleness but to use them for something of importance to his kingdom,[f] he commanded his scribe to bring him both the records of the kings who were before him and those of his own deeds,[g] and read them to him And so, when he had brought them and was reading them, it was found that a certain man as a reward for his bravery on one occa-

Artaxerxes hears of Mordecai's loyalty Esther vi 1

[d] This sentence is an addition to Scripture, probably suggested by the LXX of Est vi 1, *cf.* following note.

[e] So LXX, Heb, not mentioning God, has "That night the king could not sleep" For rabbinic legends about the curious means used by God to keep the king awake see Ginzberg iv 433.

[f] Unscriptural detail

[g] Bibl. "The book of records (lit "memorial") of the chronicles."

ἀριστείαν ἔν τινι γέρας εἰληφὼς χώραν, ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγέγραπτο ἕτερον δὲ διὰ πίστιν τετυχηκότα δωρεᾶς μηνύων ἦλθε καὶ ἐπὶ Βαγαθῶον[1] καὶ Θεοδέστην τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὧν μηνυτὴς Μαρδοχαῖος ἦν γεγενημένος
250 φράσαντος δὲ τοῦτο μόνον τοῦ γραμματέως καὶ μεταβαίνοντος εἰς ἑτέραν πρᾶξιν ἐπέσχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πυνθανόμενος εἰ μὴ ἔχει γέρας αὐτῷ δοθὲν ἀναγεγραμμένον. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔφη μηδὲν εἶναι, κελεύσας ἡσυχάζειν, τίς εἴη τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρα παρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ
251 τούτῳ τεταγμένων ἐπυνθάνετο. μαθὼν δ' ὡς ὄρθρος ἐστὶν ἤδη, προσέταξε τῶν φίλων ὃν ἂν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς εὕρωσιν ἤδη παρόντα τοῦτον αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ἔτυχέ τε ὥστε Ἀμάνην εὑρεθῆναι· θᾶττον γὰρ τῆς συνήθους ὥρας ἐληλύθει περὶ τοῦ Μαρ-
252 δοχαίου θανάτου δεησόμενος αὐτοῦ. τῶν οὖν θεραπόντων εἰπόντων ὅτι Ἀμάνης εἴη πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰσκαλέσαι εἰσελθόντος δέ, "φίλον," εἶπεν, "εἰδὼς ἐμαυτῷ σὲ μόνον εὔνουν συμβουλεῦσαί μοι παρακαλῶ πῶς ἂν τιμήσαιμί τινα στεργόμενον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σφόδρα τῆς
253 ἐμαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀξίως." ὁ δὲ Ἀμάνης λογισάμενος ἣν ἂν δῷ γνώμην ταύτην δώσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (φιλεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον), ἣν ᾤετο ἀρίστην εἶναι ταύτην φανερὰν

[1] LV (cf. supra § 207): Γαβαθῶον FW: Γαβαταῖον rell : Gabatheum Lat.

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[a] The reading of these two instances of merit is an unscriptural detail

[b] Variants Gabathōos, Gabataios, bibl Bigthana, *cf.* § 207 note *e*

[c] Bibl Teresh, *cf.* § 207 note *a*

[d] The preceding (from "whereupon the king told him to be quiet") is an amplification of Est vi 4, "And the king

sion had received some land, the name of which was also written. Then, in mentioning another who had received a gift for his loyalty,[a] he also came to Bagathōos[b] and Theodestēs,[c] the eunuchs who had plotted against the king and against whom Mordecai had informed. As the scribe merely said so much and was passing on to another incident, the king stopped him and inquired whether he did not find it written down that a reward had been given to this man. The scribe said that there was nothing, whereupon the king told him to stop, and inquired of those who were charged with this duty what hour of the night it was And, when he learned that it was already morning, he commanded them to announce to him any of his friends whom they might find already waiting before the court[d] Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he had come before the usual hour[e] to make his request of him concerning the death of Mordecai And so, when the servants said that Haman was before the court, he ordered them to call him in, and, when he came, said, "Knowing that you are the only friend loyal to me,[f] I beg you to advise me how in a manner worthy of my magnanimity I should honour one greatly cherished by me." Thereupon Haman, reflecting that whatever opinion he gave he would be giving in his own behalf, since, he thought, he was the only one loved by the king, expressed that opinion

Haman unwittingly advises the king how to honour Mordecai
Esther vi 6

said, who is in the court," probably suggested by the Luc. additions to this verse and vs 2, which mention the king's silent reflections on his treatment of Mordecai and the fact that it was morning

[e] *Cf.* Luc. (Ἀμὰν δὲ ὠρθρίκει λαλῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ), Heb and LXX do not specify the time of day when Haman appeared.

[f] This statement is an addition to Scripture

254 ἐποίησεν εἶπεν γάρ, "εἰ βούλοιο τὸν ἄνθρωπον
ὃν φῂς ἀγαπᾶν δόξῃ περιβαλεῖν, ποίησον ἐφ'
ἵππου βαδίζειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτά σοι φοροῦντα
καὶ περιαυχένιον χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ προάγοντα
τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων ἕνα κηρύσσειν δι' ὅλης τῆς
πόλεως, ὅτι ταύτης τυγχάνει τῆς τιμῆς ὃν ἂν ὁ
255 βασιλεὺς τιμήσῃ" ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀμάνης ταῦτα
συνεβούλευσεν, οἰόμενος εἰς αὐτὸν ἥξειν τοῦτο τὸ
γέρας ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τῇ παραινέσει
"προελθών," φησίν, "ἔχεις γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἵππον
καὶ τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στρεπτόν, ἐπιζήτησον
Μαρδοχαῖον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ δοὺς
κήρυττε[1] προάγων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, σὺ γάρ," ἔφη,
"μοι φίλος ἀναγκαῖος, ἴσθι διάκονος ὢν χρηστὸς
σύμβουλος ἐγένου. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν
256 ἔσται σώσαντί μου τὴν ψυχήν." τούτων ἀκούσας
παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα τὴν διάνοιαν συνεσχέθη[2] καὶ
πληγεὶς ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας ἔξεισιν ἄγων τὸν ἵππον
καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν περιαυχένιον,
καὶ τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον εὑρὼν πρὸ τῆς αὐλῆς σάκκον
ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθέμενον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν
257 πορφύραν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς τἀληθές, ἀλλὰ χλευά-
ζεσθαι νομίζων "ὦ κάκιστε πάντων ἀνθρώπων,"
εἶπεν, "οὕτως ἡμῶν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπεγγελᾷς[3],"
πεισθεὶς δ' ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ γέρας τοῦτ' εἴη

[1] κήρυττε om. PF Lat.
[2] Niese: συνεχέθη W συνεχύθη rell.
[3] ἐπιγελᾷς FLAVE: ἐγγελᾷς W Zonaras.

[a] The "necklace of gold" is a substitution for the "royal crown" of Scripture (Heb ; LXX and Luc. omit), Est vi 8 Possibly it is a reminiscence of the gold necklace given to Daniel as a reward, *cf* *Ant* x 240. For rabbinic amplifications of this passage in Scripture *cf.* Ginzberg iv 435

which he believed to be the best and said, "If you wish to cover with glory the man whom you say you love, let him ride on horseback wearing the same dress as yourself, with a necklace of gold,[a] and let one of your close friends precede him and proclaim throughout the whole city that this is the honour shown to him whom the king honours." Such, then, was the advice that Haman gave in the belief that this reward would come to him. But the king, being pleased with his counsel, said, "Go forth, for you have the horse and the robe and the chain, and look for the Jew Mordecai and give him these things and walk before his horse, proclaiming your news,[b] for," he added, "since you are my close friend, you shall be the one to carry out those things about which you have given good counsel. This shall be his reward from us for having saved my life."[c] When Haman heard these words, which were contrary to all his expectations, he was oppressed[d] in spirit and stricken with helplessness,[e] but went out, taking the horse and the purple robe and the necklace of gold, and, when he found Mordecai before the court clothed in sackcloth, he told him to take it off and put on the purple robe. But the other, not knowing the true state of things and thinking that he was being mocked, said, "O basest of all men, is this the way you make sport of our misfortunes?" But, when he was convinced that the king had given him this

[b] The variant omits "proclaiming your news."
[c] Josephus here amplifies somewhat.
[d] Variant "confused."
[e] So Luc., Heb. and LXX do not describe Haman's state of mind. Rabbinic tradition naturally dwells on his disappointment at some length, *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 436 f.

δεδωκὼς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἣν αὐτῷ παρέσχε τοὺς τότε[1] ἐπιβουλεύσαντας εὐνούχους ἐλέγξας, ἐνδύεται τὴν πορφύραν ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς φορῶν ἀεὶ διετέλει,
258 καὶ περιτίθεται τὸ περιαυχένιον, καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐν κύκλῳ περιῄει τὴν πόλιν Ἀμάνου προάγοντος καὶ κηρύσσοντος ὅτι τοῦτ' ἔσται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾧ[2] ἂν στέρξῃ καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιον δοκι-
259 μάσῃ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπεριῆλθον τὴν πόλιν, ὁ μὲν Μαρδοχαῖος εἴσεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, Ἀμάνης δ' ὑπ' αἰσχύνης πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγίνεται καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τὰ συμβεβηκότα διηγεῖτο. οἱ δ' οὐκέτ' ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον ἔλεγον δυνήσεσθαι· τὸν γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ.

260 (11) Ταῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλούντων ἧκον οἱ τῆς Ἐσθῆρος εὐνοῦχοι τὸν
261 Ἀμάνην ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπισπεύδοντες. Σαβουχάδας[3] δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων εἷς ἰδὼν τὸν σταυρὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀμάνου οἰκίᾳ πεπηγότα, ὃν ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον παρεσκευάκεισαν, καὶ πυθόμενος παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τίνα τοῦτον εἴησαν ἑτοιμασάμενοι, γνοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλίσσης θεῖον (τὸν γὰρ Ἀμάνην μέλλειν αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
262 πρὸς τιμωρίαν) τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν. ὡς δὲ ὁ

[1] ποτὲ LAW: om. PE.
[2] Holwerda: ὃν codd : τῷ ὃν E
[3] Ἀβουχαδᾶς LV Ἑρμωνᾶς Σαβουχάνης E.

[a] Mordecai's suspicion of Haman's intentions is a detail found in Luc. but not in Heb. or LXX, Est vi 11. For rabbinic parallels to the Luc addition *cf.* Ginzberg iv 437 ff

[b] Bibl "through the square (A.V "street") of the city"

[c] Heb "hastened to his home, mourning and with covered head," LXX . . λυπούμενος κατὰ κεφαλῆς "dis-

reward for having saved his life by revealing the eunuchs' earlier conspiracy,[a] he put on the purple robe which the king always used to wear, placed the chain round his neck and, mounting the horse, went the round of the city with Haman going before him and proclaiming that this should be the reward given by the king to him whom he cherished and held worthy of honour. And, when they had gone the complete round of the city,[b] Mordecai went in to the king, while Haman went home in disgrace, and with tears [c] related to his wife and friends what had happened. But they said that he would no longer be able to avenge himself on Mordecai, for God was with him.[d]

Esther denounces Haman to the king Esther vi 41

(11) While they were still talking together of these things, the eunuchs of Esther [e] came to hasten Haman's coming to the banquet. But Sabūchadas,[f] one of the eunuchs, seeing the cross that had been set up at Haman's house and prepared for Mordecai, inquired of one of the servants for whom they had made this ready, and, learning that it was for the queen's uncle, for the time being held his peace.

tressed in his head," Luc. . . ἐσκυθρωπωμένος "with downcast features."

[d] So LXX and Luc.; Heb. omits the reference to God, thereby leaving Haman's predicted failure unexplained.

[e] Heb. "eunuchs of the king," LXX "eunuchs," Luc. "someone."

[f] Variant (in § 266) Sabūzanēs; bibl. Harbonah (*Ḥarᵉbônāh*), LXX Βουγαθάν, Luc. Γαβουθάς. Josephus's form is apparently a further corruption of the Luc. form. The eunuch is not mentioned at this point (vi. 14) in Scripture, but farther on in vii. 9, after Haman is denounced by Esther and the king is ready to execute him. Josephus's rearrangement necessitates the addition of the detail "for the time being held his peace," as well as that of the eunuch's inquiry of Haman's servant.

*βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμάνου εὐωχηθεὶς ἠξίου τὴν
βασίλισσαν λέγειν αὐτῷ τίνος βούλεται παρ' αὐτοῦ*[1]
*δωρεᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν, ὡς ληψομένην οὗπερ ἂν ἐπι-
θυμίαν ἔχῃ, τὸν τοῦ λαοῦ κίνδυνον ἀπωδύρετο καὶ
πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἔλεγε μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκδεδόσθαι,*
263 *διὸ καὶ ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ
ἂν ἠνωχληκέναι αὐτῷ, εἰ πρὸς δουλείαν πικρὰν
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμποληθῆναι· μέτριον γὰρ
τοῦτο τὸ κακόν· παρεκάλει τε τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι.*
264 *ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τίνος εἴη ταῦτα
γεγενημένα, κατηγόρει τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη φανερῶς
τοῦ Ἀμάνου καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα πονηρὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς*
265 *κατεσκευακέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἤλεγχεν.*[2] *ταραχ-
θέντος δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναπηδή-
σαντος εἰς τοὺς κήπους ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου, τῆς
Ἐσθῆρος ὁ Ἀμάνης ἤρξατο δεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν
συγγνῶναι τῶν ἡμαρτημένων· συνῆκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν
κακοῖς ὤν· ἐπί τε τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ πεσόντος καὶ
τὴν βασίλισσαν παρακαλοῦντος ἐπεισελθὼν ὁ βασι-
λεὺς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἔτι μᾶλλον παροξυνθεὶς
εἶπεν, " ὦ κάκιστε πάντων,*[3] *καὶ βιάζεσθαί μου τὴν*

[1] *παρ' αὐτοῦ* om. PFVE. [2] *ἠλέγχθαι* LAW [3] *πάντων ἀνθρώπων* W.

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[a] Scripture states that the king made this offer on the 2nd day of the banquet.

[b] This is Josephus's original interpretation of the obscure latter part of Est. vii. 4 (after "But if we had been sold for bondmen and bondwomen"), which A.V. translates, "I had held my tongue although the enemy could not countervail the king's damage", LXX "I have disregarded it, for the adversary is not worthy of the king's court", Luc. "I did not wish to report it that I might not grieve my lord for it has happened that the man who wronged us

Now, when the king, as he was feasting with Haman, asked the queen to tell him what gift she wished to obtain from him, saying that she should receive whatever she had a desire for,[a] she began to lament the danger in which her people were placed and said that she had been marked for destruction together with her nation, and for this reason she was addressing him on these matters; for, she added, she would not have troubled him if he had ordered them to be sold into bitter slavery—that would be an endurable evil [b]—and she begged to be delivered from this fate When the king asked by whom these things had been done, it only remained for her to accuse Haman openly and show that he in his wickedness had formed the plot against them But after the king in his perturbation [c] at this statement had rushed from the banquet-hall into the garden, Haman began to beg and entreat Esther to pardon his offences, for he perceived that he was in serious trouble. And he fell on the queen's couch and was entreating her when the king came in upon him and, being still more incensed at this sight, exclaimed, "O basest of all men,[d] are you even trying to violate

has been removed (μεταπεσεῖν)", Targ. "I would have been silent, for the oppressor is not of value and profit to the damage of the king," which seems to mean, as Ibn Ezra explains, that Esther considered the enslavement of the Jews endurable so long as the king did not suffer thereby.

[c] The king's perturbation at this point is mentioned in Heb. and Luc. but not in LXX, which, however, uses the same word (ἐταράχθη) as does Josephus here, to describe *Haman's* state of mind. The Targum explains that the king rushed into the garden in a fury because he saw Haman's sons (really angels impersonating them) cutting down his trees.

[d] This epithet is an unscriptural detail.

266 γυναῖκα ἐπιχειρεῖς," Ἀμάνου δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλαγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι φθέγξασθαι δυνηθέντος, καὶ Σαβουχάδας ὁ εὐνοῦχος παρελθὼν κατηγόρει τοῦ Ἀμάνου ὡς εὕροι σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον ἐπὶ Μαρδοχαῖον· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ πυνθανομένῳ τὸν οἰκέτην εἰπεῖν, ὅτε καλέσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἔλεγεν ἑξήκοντα[1] πήχεων τὸ
267 ὕψος ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας οὐκ ἄλλῃ τιμωρίᾳ περιβάλλειν ἔκρινε τὸν Ἀμάνην ἢ τῇ κατὰ Μαρδοχαίου[2] νενοημένῃ, καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐξ[3]
268 ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν ὅθεν ἐπέρχεταί μοι τὸ θεῖον θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καταμανθάνειν, μὴ μόνον τὴν Ἀμάνου κολάσαντος πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατ' ἄλλου μεμηχανημένην τιμωρίαν ταύτην ἐκείνου ποιήσαντος εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθεῖν οὕτως καὶ γνῶναι[4] παρεσχηκότος ὡς ἃ καθ' ἑτέρου τις παρεσκεύασε ταῦτα λανθάνει καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἑτοιμασάμενος.

269 (12) Ἀμάνης μὲν οὖν ἀμετρήτως τῇ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χρώμενος τιμῇ τοῦτον διεφθάρη τὸν τρόπον, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσατο τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. Μαρδοχαῖον δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγένειαν Ἐσθήρ) ὃν ἔδωκεν Ἀμάνῃ δακτύλιον τοῦτον Μαρδοχαίῳ

[1] πεντήκοντα PFWVE Lat., cf § 246.
[2] ed pr · Μαρδοχαῖον codd
[3] ἐπ' LAWE.
[4] καὶ γνῶναι conj Hudson · γνῶναι codd.

my wife?" At this Haman was overcome and unable to utter any further sound,[a] and then came the eunuch Sabūchadas[b] and accused Haman, saying that he had found a cross at his house prepared for Mordecai For this was what the servant had told him in answer to his inquiry, when he had come to Haman to summon him to the banquet And the cross, he said, was sixty[c] cubits in height. When the king heard this, he decided to inflict on Haman no other punishment than that which had been devised against Mordecai, and ordered him at once to be hanged on that very same cross till he was dead. Wherefore I am moved to marvel at the Deity and to recognize His wisdom and justice, for not only did He punish Haman's wickedness but also caused the penalty which had been contrived against another to fall upon Haman himself, and thus He has given others an opportunity to learn and know that whatever mischief a man prepares against another, he has, without knowing it, first stored up for himself.[d]

Haman's punishment. Esther vii 9

(12) In this manner, then, was Haman destroyed through having made unconscionable use of his position of honour with the king, as for his property, the king presented it to the queen Then he summoned Mordecai—for Esther had revealed to the king her kinship to him—and gave him the ring which he had formerly given to Haman And the

Artaxerxes honours Esther and Mordecai Esther viii. 1

[a] Heb "And Haman's face was covered" (Targ adds "with shame"), LXX "his face changed"; Luc has something quite different, "let Haman be led away and not live."

[b] Bibl Harbonah, *cf.* § 261 note *f.*

[c] Variant 50, *cf.* § 246 note *c.*

[d] For similar examples of Josephus's moralizing *cf. Ant.* vii 37 ff., viii 251 ff., 300 ff, 418 ff, x 277 ff.

270 δίδωσι δωρεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Μαρδοχαίῳ
τὴν Ἀμάνου κτῆσιν καὶ δεῖται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπ-
αλλάξαι τοῦ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς φόβου τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
ἔθνος, δηλοῦσα τὰ γραφέντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν
ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου τοῦ Ἀμαδάθου· τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος
αὐτῆς[1] διαφθαρείσης καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀπολο-
271 μένων οὐκ ἂν ὑπομένειν τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ὑπέσχετο μηδὲν ἄχαρι αὐτῇ μηδ᾽ οἷς ἐσπούδακεν[2]
ἐναντίον ἔσεσθαι, γράφειν δὲ ἃ βούλεται προσέταξε
περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκείνην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνό-
ματος καὶ σημηναμένην αὐτοῦ τῇ σφραγῖδι πέμπειν
εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀναγνωσο-
μένους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σημαντῆρος ἠσφα-
λισμένας ἐπιστολὰς οὐδὲν περὶ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων
272 ἐναντιώσεσθαι. μεταπεμφθέντας οὖν τοὺς βασι-
λικοὺς γραμματεῖς ἐκέλευσε γράφειν τοῖς ἔθνεσι
ὑπὲρ[3] τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς τε οἰκονόμοις καὶ ἄρ-
χουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν
εἰκοσιεπτὰ σατραπειῶν ἡγουμένοις. τὰ δὲ γρα-
273 φέντα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον· "βασιλεὺς μέγας
Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι
χαίρειν. πολλοὶ διὰ μέγεθος εὐεργεσίας καὶ τιμῆς,
ἣν δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν χρηστότητος τῶν παρεχόντων

[1] αὐτῇ LAVW.
[2] αὐτῇ μηδ᾽ οἷς ἐσπούδακεν Naber· αὐτὴν μηδ᾽ (μὴ δι᾽ L) οἷς ἐσπούδακεν LAW: αὐτοῖς ἐσπουδακέναι μηδ᾽ οἷς F αὐτῇ ἐσπουδακέναι μηδ᾽ οἷς βούλεται V.
[3] περὶ F.

[a] Scripture does not say that Esther showed Haman's letter to the king.
[b] Text slightly uncertain and emended
[c] Josephus omits the date of the writing of the proclamation, given in Est. viii. 9.

queen also made a present to Mordecai of Haman's possessions, and begged the king to deliver those of the Jewish nation from fear for their lives, as she showed him the letter sent throughout the whole country by Haman, the son of Amadathos.[a] For, she said, if her native land were destroyed and her countrymen perished, she could not bear to live. Thereupon the king promised that nothing should be done to distress her nor any opposition be made to what she strove after,[b] and he commanded her to write what she pleased concerning the Jews in the king's name, mark it with his seal and send it throughout the whole kingdom. For, he said, those who read the letters secured by the royal seal would in no way oppose what was written in them. Accordingly, he sent for the royal scribes and ordered them to write[c] on behalf[d] of the Jews to the nations and stewards and governors[e] who ruled over the hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. Now the letters read as follows.[f] "Artaxerxes the great king to the governors and those who are friendly to us, greeting. Many men, because of the greatness of the benefits and honour which they have enjoyed through the exceeding

The king's edict in favour of the Jews. Apocr. Esther xvi. 1 (Add. E 1).

[d] One MS. "concerning."

[e] Josephus's terms "stewards and governors" are based on LXX *οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τῶν σατραπῶν* rendering Heb. *'aḥašdarp^e nîm w^e ha-pahôth w^e-sārê hamm^e dînôth* "satraps and governors and chiefs of provinces" (A.V. "lieutenants and deputies and rulers of the provinces").

[f] The text of the letter following (§§ 273-283) is a close paraphrase of the apocr. Esther, addition E (xvi. 1-24), which also forms the basis of the decree given in the late Targum (there are two Targums to Esther); for a translation of this *cf.* Ginzberg iv. 445 ff.

ἐκαρποῦντο, οὐκ εἰς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους μόνον
274 ἐξυβρίζουσιν, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδ᾿ αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ὤκνησαν τοὺς
εὐεργετοῦντας, τὸ εὐχάριστον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀν-
αιροῦντες, καὶ δι᾿ ἀπειροκαλίαν τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν[1] προσ-
εδόκησαν ἀγαθῶν, κόρον εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀφέντες,
λήσεσθαι τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ τούτοις νομίζουσι καὶ τὴν ἐξ
275 αὐτοῦ διαφεύξεσθαι δίκην. ἔνιοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων προ-
στασίαν πραγμάτων ἐπιτραπέντες παρὰ τῶν φίλων
καὶ μῖσος ἴδιον ἔχοντες πρός τινας, παραλογισάμενοι
τοὺς κρατοῦντας ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις καὶ διαβολαῖς
ἔπεισαν κατὰ μηδὲν ἀδικούντων ὀργὴν ἀναλαβεῖν,
276 ὑφ᾿ ἧς ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκ
τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων οὐδ᾿ ἀκοῇ γνωρίμων ἡμῖν οὕτως
ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἔχον, ἀλλ᾿ ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας
ὄψεις τετολμημένων, ὡς διαβολαῖς μὲν καὶ κατ-
ηγορίαις μὴ προσέχειν ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ᾿ οἷς ἕτεροι
πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, κρίνειν δ᾿ ὅσα τις αὐτὸς οἶδε
πεπραγμένα, καὶ κολάζειν μὲν ἂν ᾖ τοιαῦτα, χαρί-
ζεσθαι δ᾿ ἂν ἑτέρως ἔχῃ, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ
277 μὴ τοῖς λέγουσι προστιθέμενον. ὡς νῦν Ἀμάνης,
Ἀμαδάθου μὲν παῖς Ἀμαληκίτης δὲ τὸ γένος,
ἀλλότριος ὢν τοῦ Περσῶν αἵματος, ἐπιξενωθεὶς
ἡμῖν ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας χρηστότητος ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτον ὡς πατέρα μου τὸ λοιπὸν προσαγορεύε-

[1] τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν] ὧν οὐ Lowth: τὸν ἐξ ὧν οὐ Herwerden.

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[a] Text and meaning uncertain; LXX has τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγάθων κόμποις ἐπαρθέντες "lifted up with the ostentation of men ignorant of good (A.V. renders ἀπειραγάθων by "lewd"; G. Gregg in R. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, i. 680, explains that the word here has the general meaning of "foolish"); Luc. has τοῖς τῶν

kindness of those who bestow them, have not only acted outrageously toward their inferiors but have not hesitated to wrong even their benefactors, thus making an end of gratitude among men, and, in their vulgar lack of appreciation of these blessings from unexpected sources,[a] they have turned their insolence against those responsible for them, and think that in so doing they will elude the Deity and escape punishment from Him. And some of them, who have been entrusted by their friends with the administration of the government, have, because of a private grudge against certain persons, misled their masters by false charges and slanders and persuaded them to vent their anger on people who have done no wrong, as a result of which they were in danger of perishing That such a state of affairs exists we can see, not from ancient history or incidents known by report, but from the bold attempts made before our very eyes, so that in future we must not pay attention to slanders and accusations or to those things of which others attempt to persuade us, but must judge from what we ourselves know to have been done, and to punish when necessary or show favour when the case is otherwise, addressing ourselves to the deeds themselves and not to what people say As a present instance, Haman, the son of Amadathos, of the Amalekite race, an alien among those of Persian blood,[b] received hospitality from us and so far enjoyed the kindness which we show to all, that since that time he has been called my father and

ἀπειροπαθῶν κόμποις παρελθόντες "transgressing with the ostentation of those unused to suffering"

[b] LXX here adds that he was a Macedonian; also in Est ix. 24, where Heb has "Agagite," LXX has "Macedonian"

σθαι καὶ προσκυνούμενον διατελεῖν καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμᾶς
τὰ δεύτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς παρὰ πάντων τιμῆς ἀπο-
φέρεσθαι, τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν οὐδὲ σώφρονι
278 λογισμῷ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐταμίευσεν, ἀλλὰ
τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεβούλευσέ με καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν
αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας[1] ἀφελέσθαι, τὸν εὐεργέτην
μου καὶ σωτῆρα Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὴν κοινωνὸν ἡμῖν
τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἐσθῆρα κακούργως καὶ
μετὰ ἀπάτης πρὸς ἀπώλειαν αἰτησάμενος· τούτῳ
γάρ με τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν εὐνοούντων ἐρημώσας ἐβού-
279 λετο τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ἄλλους μεταβαλεῖν ἐγὼ δὲ
τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἐκδοθέντας
Ἰουδαίους οὐ πονηροὺς κατανοήσας, ἀλλὰ τὸν
ἄριστον πολιτευομένους τρόπον καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσ-
ανέχοντας, ὃς ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν
βασιλείαν διεφύλαξεν, οὐ μόνον ἀπολύω τῆς ἐκ τῶν
προαπεσταλμένων ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου γραμμάτων[2] τιμω-
280 ρίας, οἷς ποιήσετε καλῶς μὴ προσέχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τιμῆς αὐτοὺς ἁπάσης τυγχάνειν βούλομαι, καὶ τὸν
ταῦτα κατ᾽ αὐτῶν μηχανησάμενον πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν
τῶν ἐν Σούσοις ἀνεσταύρωσα μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς, τοῦ
πάντα ἐφορῶντος θεοῦ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐπι-
281 βαλόντος κελεύω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς
ἐπιστολῆς ἐκθέντας εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν βασιλείαν τοὺς
Ἰουδαίους ἐφεῖναι[3] τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν

[1] + ταύτης LAWE.
[2] ὑπὸ . . γραμμάτων om. PF.
[3] Niese: ἀφεῖναι codd. E

[a] This last phrase is added by Josephus; a similar expression to "husbanded . . good fortune" is found in Dionysius Halicarn. i. 65 ταμιεύεσθαι τὴν τύχην.
[b] LXX and Luc. "to the Macedonians"

has continually made the people prostrate themselves before him and from all has received royal honours second to our own, he has not, however, borne his good fortune wisely nor has he husbanded the abundance of his prosperity with prudence and reason,[a] but has plotted to take from me, the author of his power, my kingdom and my life, after treacherously and deceitfully demanding the destruction of Mordecai, my benefactor and saviour, and Esther, who shares my life and throne. For he wished to deprive me in this manner of my loyal friends and to transfer the kingship to others.[b] But, since I have observed that the Jews, who were marked for destruction by this accursed fellow, are not evil-doers but live under the most excellent kind of government and are attached to the God[c] who has preserved the kingdom for me and our forefathers, not only do I release them from the penalties set forth in the letters sent by Haman,[d] which you will do well to disregard, but it is also my will that they be shown every honour,[e] and I have crucified the one who devised these things against them, together with his family,[f] before the gates of Susa, for the all-seeing[g] God has brought this punishment upon him. I also order you to display a copy of this letter throughout the entire kingdom and to permit the Jews to live in peace under their own laws, and to help them in

[c] Josephus omits the epithets given God in the apocr. Esther (LXX "the most high, most great, living", Luc. "the only, true").

[d] The variant omits "sent by Haman."

[e] The command that the Jews "be shown every honour" is a detail added by Josephus.

[f] So LXX, Luc. omits "together with his family."

[g] *Cf.* Luc. (τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος), LXX "all-powerful" or "all-ruling" (τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος).

μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τοὺς ἐν οἷς ἠτύχησαν καιροῖς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀμύνωνται, τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, ὅς ἐστιν
282 Ἄδαρ, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ· ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ ὀλεθρίας σωτήριον πεποίηκεν. ἔστω δ' ἀγαθὴ μὲν τοῖς εὐνοοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ὑπόμνησις δὲ τῆς τῶν
283 ἐπιβουλευσάντων κολάσεως εἰδέναι μέντοι γε βούλομαι καὶ πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος, ἐὰν τῶν γεγραμμένων τινὸς παρακούσῃ, ὅτι καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ δαπανηθήσεται. τὰ μέντοι γεγραμμένα προτεθήτω καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμῖν ὑπηκόου χώρας, καὶ παρασκευαζέσθωσαν πάντως εἰς τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἡμέραν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μετέλθωσιν"

284 (13) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διακομίζοντες εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσαντες τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν ἤνυον. ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ὡς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος προῆλθεν, ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οὕτως τετιμημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ ἐν Σούσοις ὄντες Ἰουδαῖοι κοινὴν ὑπέλαβον τὴν εὐπραγίαν
285 αὐτοῦ. χαρὰ δὲ καὶ σωτήριον φέγγος, ἐκτιθεμένων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως γραμμάτων, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χώραν ἐπεῖχεν,[1] ὡς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβον περιτεμνόμενα τὴν αἰδῶ, τὸ ἀκίνδυνον
286 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τούτου πραγματεύσασθαι καὶ γὰρ τοῦ

[1] εἶχει LAW· περιεῖχεν ex Lat Hudson

[a] LXX and Luc "spear"
[b] Instead of "necklace" Scripture has "garment

requiting those who did them wrong in the times of their misfortune, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar—on that very day. For God has made it a day of salvation for them instead of a day of destruction. Let it be a good day for those who are well-disposed toward us, but a reminder of the punishment that overtakes those who have plotted against us. Furthermore, I wish every city and nation to know that if it disobeys any of the orders here written, it shall be laid waste with fire and sword.[a] This letter, moreover, shall be published throughout the whole of the country subject to us, and they shall by all means prepare themselves against the appointed day to fall upon their enemies."

The Jews rejoice at their deliverance. Esther viii. 14.

(13) And so the horsemen who carried the letters set out at once and travelled the road laid out for them. And Mordecai, after assuming the royal robe and putting on the crown of gold and the necklace,[b] came forth, and, when the Jews living in Susa saw him so greatly honoured by the king, they regarded his good fortune as common to themselves. And, when the letter of the king was published, joy and the light of salvation came upon the Jews both in the city and in the provinces, so that many of the other nations also, from fear of the Jews, had themselves circumcised[c] and thereby managed to avoid danger.[d] For the bearers of the king's letter

(LXX "diadem"!) of fine linen and purple." The Targum expands these details into an elaborate description of his dress.

[c] So Luc. translates Heb. *mithyah*^{a}*dîm* "became Jews"; LXX has "became circumcised" in addition to ἰουδάιζον "became Jews", Targ. "were converted."

[d] Josephus's phrasing resembles that in Thucydides vi. 15 τὸ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον . . . παρέχειν.

δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ,[1] ὃς κατὰ μὲν Ἑβραίους Ἄδαρ καλεῖται κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας Δύστρος, οἱ κομίσαντες τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα ἐδήλουν, ὅπως καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν
287 ἤμελλον ἐν ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπολέσωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ[2] γραμματεῖς εἶχον ἐν τιμῇ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ Μαρδοχαίου φόβος ἠνάγκαζεν
288 αὐτοὺς σωφρονεῖν. τοῦ δὲ γράμματος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ χώρας γενομένου συνέπεσεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις Ἰουδαίους
289 ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν περὶ πεντακοσίους. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τὸν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ πόλει[3] δηλώσαντος τὸν ἀριθμὸν Ἐσθῆρι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας τί ποτ' εἴη γεγονὸς διαποροῦντος, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἔτ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι βούλεται πυνθανομένου, πραχθήσεσθαι γάρ, παρεκάλεσεν ἐπιτραπῆναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὕτως χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ
290 τοὺς δέκα τοὺς Ἀμάνου παῖδας ἀνασταυρῶσαι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν προσέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ βασιλεύς, μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν Ἐσθῆρι βουλόμενος[4]. οἱ δὲ πάλιν

[1] τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ AW.
[2] βασιλικοὶ ex LXX Bekker: βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ (οἱ om. PFV) codd.
[3] ἐν τῇ πόλει om. P
[4] δυνάμενος P.

[a] Variant 14th; Scripture has 13th
[b] *Cf.* § 107 note *b*
[c] Text emended from LXX, MSS "the kings and the scribes." Josephus's 3 classes of officials (as emended) agree literally with those of LXX, Heb mentions 4—"rulers of the provinces, satraps (A.V. "lieutenants"), governors

announced that on the thirteenth[a] day of the twelfth month, which is called Adar by the Hebrews, and Dystros by the Macedonians,[b] they should destroy their enemies—on the very same day, that is, on which they themselves were to have been placed in danger. Now the rulers of the satrapies and the tyrants and the royal scribes[c] began to hold the Jews in honour, for their fear of Mordecai compelled them to act prudently. And it so happened that at the same time when the king's letter reached the whole country ruled by him, the Jews in Susa killed about five hundred[d] of their enemies.[e] Thereupon the king informed Esther of the number of those slain in the city,[f] and, when he expressed uncertainty about what had happened to those in the provinces and inquired whether she wished anything more of him, saying that it would be done, she begged him to permit the Jews on the following day also to treat in the same manner those of their enemies who remained and to crucify the ten sons of Haman.[g] And so the king, being unwilling[h] to oppose Esther in anything, commanded the Jews to do so, and they

The Jews take vengeance on their enemies Esther ix. 5.

(A.V. "deputies") and officers of the king", *cf.* § 272 note *e*.

[d] So Heb. and LXX, Luc. 700.

[e] Scripture adds here (Est. ix. 7 ff.) that Haman's ten sons were also killed; *cf.* below, note *g*.

[f] The variant omits "in the city"; for "city" Scripture has "Susa, the fortress" (A.V. "palace").

[g] According to Scripture (Est. ix. 13) Esther requests that Haman's ten sons be crucified, although an earlier verse (*cf.* above, note *e*) states that they were killed the first day. (This might mean, of course, that their dead bodies were to be impaled, but more likely the second reference is due to an oversight.) Josephus avoids the difficulty by omitting to mention them in § 288.

[h] One MS. "unable."

συστραφέντες τῇ τετράδι καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Δύστρου μηνὸς ἀπέκτειναν τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς τριακοσίους,[1] καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκείνοις ὑπαρχόντων ἥψαντο κτη-
291 μάτων. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῖς ἑπτακισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός,
292 τὴν δὲ ἐχομένην ἑορτάσιμον ἐποίησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς Σούσοις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν τετράδα καὶ δεκάτην καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς συναθροισθέντες εὐωχήθησαν ὅθεν καὶ νῦν πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ Ἰουδαῖοι τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας
293 ἑορτάζουσι, διαπεμπόμενοι μερίδας ἀλλήλοις ἔγραψε δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείᾳ ζῶσιν Ἰουδαίοις ταύτας παραφυλάσσειν τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγειν αὐτὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδοῦναι τοῦ πρὸς πάντα διαμεῖναι τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἑορτὴν ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ λήθῃ παραπολέσθαι
294 μελλήσαντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύταις διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑπὸ Ἀμάνου, δίκαια ποιήσειν εἰ διαφυγόντες μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς τὸν κίνδυνον τοὺς δ'

[1] τετρακοσίους AW.

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[a] Bibl Adar, *cf.* § 286.

[b] So Heb ; LXX 15,000 ; Luc. 70,100.

[c] Josephus is slightly inaccurate here. According to Scripture (Est. ix. 17 ff.) the Jews of Susa attacked their enemies on the 13th and 14th of Adar, and celebrated on the 15th (not the 14th *and* 15th as Josephus states), while the Jews in the provinces attacked their enemies on the 13th and celebrated on the 14th—in other words, the Jews of the provinces celebrated on the 14th of Adar, and the Jews of Susa on the 15th To be sure, farther on (ix 20 ff) Scripture specifies the 14th and 15th of Adar as festival days, but the rabbinic authorities of Josephus's time (*cf*

again banded themselves together on the fourteenth day of the month of Dystros [a] and killed some three hundred of their adversaries but touched none of the possessions which they had. And seventy-five thousand [b] of their enemies were slain by the Jews in the provinces and the other cities also. These they slew on the thirteenth of the month, and they kept the next day as a festival. Similarly did the Jews in Susa also gather together and feast on the fourteenth and the following day of the same month.[c] Whence it is that even now all the Jews in the habitable world celebrate these days by sending portions to one another. For Mordecai wrote to all the Jews living in the kingdom of Artaxerxes, telling them to observe these days and keep them as a festival and hand them down to their descendants in order that the festival might remain for all time and not fall into disuse through forgetfulness. For, he said, since they had been marked for destruction on those days by Haman, but had escaped danger on them and had even avenged themselves on their

The festival of Purim Esther ix. 20

Mishnah, *Megillah*, i. 1), observing the distinction of date in Scripture between the celebration at Susa and that in the provinces, specify that the festival is to be observed on the 14th in smaller cities and on the 15th in larger cities. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that the early rabbinic treatise *Megillath Ta'anith*, like Josephus, merely makes the general statement that the 14th and 15th of Adar are festival days. Josephus does not mention the Fast of Esther, still observed by pious Jews on the 13th of Adar, for the very good reason that it was not known until the post-Talmudic period (*cf.* A. Schwarz in *Festskrift Simonsen*, 1923, pp. 188-205, and H. Lichtenstein in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vii-ix, 1931/32, p. 280). Instead of observing a fast day on the 13th of Adar, the Jews in Josephus's time celebrated the Maccabean victory over Nicanor, *cf. Ant.* xii. 412 (on 1 Macc. vii. 43 ff.) and *Megillath Ta'anith* under that date

ἐχθροὺς τιμωρησάμενοι, παρατηρήσουσιν αὐτὰς
295 εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
τὰς προειρημένας ἡμέρας ἑορτάζουσιν, προσαγο-
ρεύσαντες αὐτὰς φρουραίους[1] ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος
μέγας τε ἦν καὶ λαμπρὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ
συνδιεῖπεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπολαύων ἅμα καὶ τῆς
296 κοινωνίας τοῦ βίου τῇ βασιλίσσῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς
Ἰουδαίοις τὰ πράγματα δι᾽ αὐτοὺς[2] ἀμείνω πάσης
ἐλπίδος. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτοις βασιλεύοντος Ἀρτα-
ξέρξου συμβάντα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον
297 (VII 1) Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἐλια-
σίβου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰώδας[3] ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ
διεδέξατο τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου τὴν τιμὴν
Ἰωάννης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν, δι᾽ ὃν καὶ
Βαγώσης[4] ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἄλλου[5] Ἀρταξέρξου τὸν
ναὸν ἐμίανε καὶ φόρους ἐπέταξε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,

[1] φρουρέας P φρουρέους W: φουραίους Grotius conservatores Lat
[2] αὐτὸν E
[3] Ἰωάχας P· Ἰούδας V Lat Ἰοχάς W. Ἰωάδας E.
[4] Βαγώας LA (Zonaras)
[5] τοῦ ἄλλου ex Lat. (alterius) Hudson τοῦ PAW: τοῦ λαοῦ rell τοῦ Ἄχου Scaliger.

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[a] *Cf* LXX φρουραί, Heb *Pûrîm* The bibl. interpretation "lots" is doubtful, B. Motzo, *Saggi di Storia e Letteratura Giudeo-Ellenistica*, 1924, pp. 307 ff, derives *Pûrîm* from Φρουραί.

[b] Josephus here resumes the narrative of events in Palestine, from § 183.

[c] Bibl. Eliashib (*'Elyāsîb*), LXX Ἐλ(ε)ισούβ, his succession to the high priesthood is mentioned earlier in § 158

[d] Bibl Joiada (*Yôyādā'*). LXX Ἰω(α)δά

[e] Bibl. Johanan (*Yôḥānān*), LXX Ἰωανάν (in Neh XII 11 the name appears as Jonathan (*Yônāthān*), LXX Ἰωναθάν) On the historicity and sources of the following section see Appendix B.

enemies, they would do right to observe them by giving thanks to God. For this reason, therefore, the Jews celebrate the forementioned days, which they call *Phrūraioi*.[a] Now Mordecai was a great and illustrious man in the eyes of the king and shared the royal power with him, at the same time enjoying the companionship of the queen. And through them the condition of the Jews also was better than anything they had hoped for. Such, then, were the things that befell them in the reign of Artaxerxes.

(vii. 1) [b] On the death of the high priest Eliasib[c] his son Jōdas[d] succeeded him in the high priesthood. And, when he also died, Jōannēs,[e] who was his son, assumed this office; it was through him that Bagōsēs,[f] the general of the second[g] Artaxerxes, defiled the sanctuary and imposed tribute on the Jews, so that

The high priest Joannes (Johanan) and Bagoses. Cf. Neh. xii. 10 (LXX 2 Esdras xxii. 10).

[f] Variant Bagoas (as in Diodorus Siculus); in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantinē this common Persian name is written *Bagô(h)î*, in the Heb. of Ezra and Nehemiah, *Bigwai*. The Persian original is explained by F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 59 f., as the abbreviation of a "full-name" with *Baga* "God" as its first element. On the identity of Bagoses see next note.

[g] *i.e.* Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–359 B.C.); if, however, the word "second" (ἄλλου) is bracketed as an interpolation, as Niese and several other scholars suggest, the king meant might be Artaxerxes III Ochus (359–338 B.C.). The reading here adopted is more likely to be correct, and Bagoses is probably to be identified with the Bagoses who was Persian governor of Judaea at the end of the reign of Darius II and is mentioned in the Elephantinē papyri of the year 408 B.C.; presumably he continued in office through the early part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. If ἄλλου is removed as spurious, Bagoses is probably to be identified with the Persian general of Artaxerxes III. mentioned in Diodorus xvi. 47. For a fuller discussion of this point see Appendix B.

πρὶν ἢ τὰς καθημερινὰς ἐπιφέρειν θυσίας ὑπὲρ
ἀρνὸς ἑκάστου τελεῖν αὐτοὺς δημοσίᾳ δραχμὰς
298 πεντήκοντα. τούτου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τοιαύτην συνέβη
γενέσθαι· ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Ἰησοῦς· τούτῳ
φίλῳ τυγχάνοντι ὁ Βαγώσης ὑπέσχετο τὴν ἀρχ-
299 ιερωσύνην παρέξειν. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν τῆς πεποι-
θήσεως Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ναῷ διενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
παρώξυνε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν διὰ[1] τὴν
ὀργήν. τηλικοῦτο δὲ[2] ἀσέβημα δρᾶσαι κατὰ
τἀδελφοῦ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἱερώμενον[3] δεινὸν[4] ἦν, καὶ
τὸ δεινότερον,[5] ὡς μήτε παρ' Ἕλλησιν μήτε παρὰ
βαρβάροις ὠμὸν οὕτως καὶ ἀσεβὲς ἔργον γεγονέναι.
300 τὸ μέντοι θεῖον οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς διὰ
ταύτην[6] τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδουλώθη καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἐμιάνθη
ὑπὸ Περσῶν. Βαγώσης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρ-
ταξέρξου γνοὺς ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν
Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
ἐφόνευσεν, εὐθὺς ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ
θυμοῦ ἤρξατο λέγειν "ἐτολμήσατε ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
301 ναῷ[7] φόνον ἐργάσασθαι" πειρωμένου δ' αὐτοῦ
εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἔφη "πῶς οὐκ ἐγὼ καθαρώτερός εἰμι τοῦ
ἀνῃρημένου[8] ἐν τῷ ναῷ;" καὶ τούτους ποιησά-
μενος τοὺς λόγους εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσέρχεται ταύτῃ
μὲν οὖν χρησάμενος τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ Βαγώσης τοὺς

[1] διὰ FOV: καὶ διὰ rell. [2] τηλ δὲ FOV τηλ rell
[3] ἱερώμενον FOV: ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ rell ἐν τῷ ναῷ E
[4] ὡς δεινὸν P. [5] τὸ δεινότερον] πρότερον PF.
[6] Niese: αὐτὴν codd. [7] ὑμετέρῳ ναῷ] ἱερῷ P
[8] ἀνῃρηκότος P²LE

before offering the daily sacrifices they had to pay from the public treasury fifty drachmae for every lamb. The reason for this was the following happening. Jōannēs had a brother named Jēsūs,[a] and Bagōsēs, whose friend he was, promised to obtain the high priesthood for him. With this assurance, therefore, Jēsūs quarrelled with Jōannēs in the temple and provoked his brother so far that in his anger he killed him. That Jōannēs should have committed so impious a deed against his brother while serving as priest was terrible enough, but the more terrible[b] in that neither among Greeks nor barbarians had so savage and impious a deed ever been committed. The Deity, however, was not indifferent to it, and it was for this[c] reason that the people were made slaves and the temple was defiled by the Persians. Now, when Bagōsēs, the general of Artaxerxes, learned that Jōannēs, the high priest of the Jews, had murdered his own brother Jēsūs in the temple, he at once set upon the Jews and in anger began to say, "You have dared to commit murder in your own temple." But, when he attempted to enter the temple, they sought to prevent him, whereupon he said to them, "Am I, then, not purer than he who was slain[d] in the temple?" and, having spoken these words, he went in to the temple. This, then, being the pretext which he

[a] Hellenized form of Heb. *Yēšû'a.*

[b] Text uncertain.

[c] Emended text; MSS. "this very."

[d] The variant "he who slew" is preferred by some scholars, but it is obviously a *lectio facilior* introduced by a scribe who missed the point of Bagoses' ironic remark. A dead body makes the temple unclean, according to Jewish law.

Ἰουδαίους ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τελευτῆς μετῆλθεν

302 (2) Καταστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸν βίον διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰαδδοῦς [1] ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἀδελφὸς Μανασσῆς ὄνομα, ᾧ Σαναβαλλέτης ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως[2] σατράπης Χου-
303 θαῖος τὸ γένος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς εἰσιν, εἰδὼς λαμπρὰν οὖσαν πόλιν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ κατοικοῦσιν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεῖς πράγματα παρασχόντας, ἀσμένως συνῴκισε τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Νικασὼ καλουμένην, οἰόμενος τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ὅμηρον αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντὸς εὔνοιαν

304 (viii 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν Αἰγαῖς[3] ὑπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ Κεράστου ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ὀρεστῶν γένους
305 δολοφονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν παραλαβὼν δ' ὁ παῖς

[1] Ἰωαδδοῦς LAWE
[2] τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως om. Lat
[3] Αἰγέαις P. Αἰγαίαις FLVW Aegeis Lat

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[a] Variant Jōaddūs; bibl Jaddua (*Yaddû'a*), LXX Ἰαδού

[b] Hellenized form of Heb *M'naššeh* (bibl Manasseh); Scripture does not mention any such person in this connexion.

[c] Bibl Sanballat (*Sanᵉballaṭ*), LXX Σαναβαλλάτ On the relation of the Sanaballetes here mentioned to the Sanballat of the book of Nehemiah and the Sanballat of the Elephantinē papyri see Appendix B Here it may suffice to note that according to Scripture (Neh xiii 28) it was one of the "sons of Joiada" (i e a brother of Joiada's son Johanan, not a brother of Johanan's son Jaddua, as Josephus says) who married Sanballat's daughter Ac-

used, Bagōsēs made the Jews suffer seven years for the death of Jēsūs.

Manasses, the high priest's brother, and the Samaritans. Cf. Neh. xiii. 28 (LXX 2 Esdras xxiii. 28)

(2) When Jōannēs departed this life he was succeeded in the high priesthood by his son Jaddūs.[a] He too had a brother, named Manassēs,[b] to whom Sanaballetēs[c]—he had been sent to Samaria as satrap by Darius the last king,[d] and was of the Cuthaean race from whom the Samaritans also are descended—, knowing that Jerusalem was a famous city and that its kings had given much trouble to the Assyrians and the inhabitants of Coele-Syria, gladly gave him his daughter, called Nikasō,[e] in marriage, for he believed that this alliance by marriage would be a pledge of his securing the goodwill of the entire Jewish nation.

Alexander the Great subdues Asia Minor.

(viii. 1) [f] Now it was just about this time that Philip, king of Macedon, died at Aegae,[g] being treacherously slain by Pausanias, the son of Kerastes, of the family of the Orestae. And his son

cording to Heb. usage, however, "one of the sons" might mean "a grandson" or "descendant" generally, in which case Josephus would agree with Scripture in making Sanballat's son-in-law a brother of Jaddua.

[d] Darius III Codomannus (338–331 B.C.). Scripture (Neh. xii. 22) agrees with Josephus to the extent of making Jaddua a contemporary of Darius III., whom it calls "Darius the Persian."

[e] In his note *ad loc.* T. Reinach remarks that Josephus has given the Persian governor of Samaria a daughter with a Greek name "contre toute vraisemblance." The name Nikasō, however, may not be Greek at all, but the hellenized form of a Semitic name, possibly Aram. *nik*[e]*sâ* "sacrifice" (?).

[f] Josephus's sources for Greek, as well as Roman, Parthian and Hellenistic Jewish history will be treated in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

[g] In Macedonia. Philip was slain in 336 B.C.

αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, νικᾷ μὲν τοὺς Δαρείου στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς, ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν δουλωσάμενος καὶ τὴν Καρίαν[1] ἐπιδραμὼν τοῖς ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ τόποις ἐπέβαλεν, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται

306 (2) Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβύτεροι δεινοπαθοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφὸν ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικοῦντα μετέχειν τῆς ἀρ-
307 χιερωσύνης ἐστασίαζον πρὸς αὐτόν· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ τὸν τούτου γάμον ἐπιβάθραν τοῖς παρανομεῖν περὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν συνοικήσεις βουλησομένοις γενέσθαι[2] καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους αὐτοῖς κοινω-
308 νίας ἀρχὴν τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι. ὑπάρξαι μέντοι καὶ τῆς προτέρας αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους πλημμελῆσαί τινας καὶ ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐπιχωρίας. ἐκέλευον οὖν τὸν Μανασσῆν διαζεύγνυσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ μὴ προσ-
309 ιέναι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως τῷ λαῷ συναγανακτοῦντος καὶ εἴργοντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ, παραγενόμενος ὁ Μανασσῆς πρὸς τὸν πενθερὸν Σαναβαλλέτην στέργειν μὲν ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικασώ, τῆς μέντοι γε[3] ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς μεγίστης οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῷ γένει

[1] Syriam aut Cyriam Lat
[2] γενήσεσθαι AW
[3] γε om FLAVWE.

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[a] A river in Hellespontine Phrygia, emptying into the Sea of Marmora.

[b] "Elsewhere" may mean the brief passage about Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor in *Ant* ii 348 or, what is more likely, the works of other historians The formula *καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται* and similar ones which give cross-

Alexander took over the royal power and, after crossing the Hellespont, defeated the generals of Darius in a battle at the Granicus[a]; he then invaded Lydia, and after subjugating Ionia and overrunning Caria, fell upon the region of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere[b]

(2) Now the elders of Jerusalem, resenting the fact that the brother of the high priest Jaddūs was sharing the high priesthood[c] while married to a foreigner, rose up against him, for they considered this marriage to be a stepping-stone for those who might wish to transgress the laws about taking wives and that this would be the beginning of intercourse with foreigners They believed, moreover, that their former captivity and misfortunes had been caused by some who had erred in marrying and taking wives who were not of their own country. They therefore told Manassēs either to divorce his wife or not to approach the altar And, as the high priest shared the indignation of the people and kept his brother from the altar, Manassēs went to his father-in-law Sanaballetēs and said that while he loved his daughter Nikasō, nevertheless the priestly office was the highest in the nation and had always belonged to his

Manasses goes over to the Samaritans

references not readily identifiable in Josephus's extant writings will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume.

[c] It is not clear in what way Manasses was "sharing the high priesthood," except in the general sense that he was a member of the high priest's family, as was the case with the "high priests" mentioned in the Gospels. Possibly, however, Josephus means that Manasses occupied the position of *sāgān* (Aram *s^e^gan*), although this term appears to denote a member of the aristocracy of Jerusalem in the Persian period (as in Ezra ix 2), in later rabbinic usage it means an assistant of the high priest, *cf.* Mishnah, *Yoma* vi. and Bab Talmud, *Yoma* 39a.

παραμενούσης οὐ βούλεσθαι δι' αὐτὴν στέρεσθαι
310 τοῦ δὲ Σαναβαλλέτου μὴ μόνον τηρήσειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν παρέξειν δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν ὑπισχνουμένου, καὶ πάντων ἀποδείξειν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπῆρχε τόπων ἡγεμόνα βουλόμενον συνοικεῖν αὐτοῦ[1] τῇ θυγατρί, καὶ λέγοντος οἰκοδομήσειν ναὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν[2] ὄρους, ὃ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
311 Σαμάρειαν ὀρῶν ἐστιν ὑψηλότατον, καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου μετὰ τῆς Δαρείου γνώμης τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ Μανασσῆς παρέμενε[3] τῷ Σαναβαλλέτῃ, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην οἰόμενος ἕξειν Δαρείου δόντος· καὶ γὰρ συνέβαινε τὸν Σαναβαλλέτην ἤδη πρεσβύτερον εἶναι.
312 πολλῶν δὲ ἱερέων καὶ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τοιούτοις γάμοις ἐπιπεπλεγμένων κατεῖχεν οὐ μικρὰ ταραχὴ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας· ἀφίσταντο γὰρ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὸν Μανασσῆν τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου χορηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ κατοίκησιν ἀπομερίζοντος καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ συμφιλοκαλοῦντος.
313 (3) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Δαρεῖος ἀκούσας ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διαβὰς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τοὺς σατράπας αὐτοῦ τῇ κατὰ Γράνικον μάχῃ κρατήσας προσωτέρω χωρεῖ, στρατιὰν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν

[1] αὐτὸν PFLAW Lat
[2] Γαριζὶν FVE Syncellus.
[3] κατέμενε παρὰ AWE

[a] Of the Samaritans, of course, cf. § 324. According to M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, 1925, pp. 30 f., "No trace of such a fact can be found in the Samaritan chronicles, nor

family, and that therefore he did not wish to be deprived of it on her account But Sanaballetēs promised not only to preserve the priesthood for him but also to procure for him the power and office of high priest[a] and to appoint him governor of all the places over which he ruled, if he were willing to live with his daughter. and he said that he would build a temple similar to that in Jerusalem on Mount Garizein—this is the highest of the mountains near Samaria—, and undertook to do these things with the consent of King Darius. Elated by these promises, Manassēs stayed with Sanaballetēs, believing that he would obtain the high priesthood as the gift of Darius, for Sanaballetēs, as it happened, was now an old man But, as many priests and Israelites were involved in such marriages, great was the confusion which seized the people of Jerusalem For all these deserted to Manassēs, and Sanaballetēs supplied them with money and with land for cultivation and assigned them places wherein to dwell, in every way seeking to win favour for[b] his son-in-law

The Samaritans expect Darius to defeat Alexander

(3) [c]Now about this time Darius heard that Alexander had crossed the Hellespont and defeated his satraps in the battle at the Granicus and was advancing further, and so he collected an army of

is the intermarriage mentioned between the house of the high priest of Jerusalem and any of their governors or rulers; in one chronicle, however, Sanballat is mentioned as 'Cohen Levi,' 'the Priest, the Levite,' and in another as 'Levite' only, but he is never identified in any way with the High Priest"

[b] Or "enthusiastically supporting," as Dr Thackeray translates συμφιλοκαλεῖν in *Ant.* i. 9

[c] *Cf* § 304 note *f*.

συνήθροιζεν, ἀπαντῆσαι διαγνοὺς[1] τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
πρὶν ἢ πᾶσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας καταστρέψασθαι τὴν
314 Ἀσίαν περαιωσάμενος οὖν τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν
καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ Κιλίκιον ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν ἐν
Ἰσσῷ[2] τῆς Κιλικίας τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἐκεῖ
315 μαχησόμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐξεδέχετο ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῇ Δα-
ρείου καταβάσει ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης εὐθὺς ἔλεγε τῷ
Μανασσῇ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τελέσειν, ὡς[3] ἂν Δαρεῖος
κρατήσας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποστρέψῃ· πέπειστο γὰρ
οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
μηδ' εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἥξειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας
316 διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπέβη δ' οὐχ ὡς προσεδόκων
συμβαλὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡττήθη
καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας, ληφθέντων
αἰχμαλώτων αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ
317 τῶν τέκνων, ἔφυγεν εἰς Πέρσας Ἀλέξανδρος δ'
εἰς Συρίαν[4] παραγενόμενος Δαμασκὸν αἱρεῖ καὶ
Σιδῶνος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει Τύρον, ἠξίου τε ἀπο-
στείλας γράμματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα
συμμαχίαν τε αὐτῷ πέμπειν καὶ ἀγορὰν τῷ στρα-
τεύματι παρασχεῖν καὶ ὅσα Δαρείῳ πρότερον ἐτέ-

[1] διεγνωκὼς LAWE.
[2] ἐν Ἰσσῷ E: εἴσω PFLOVA²: ἐν Ἰσ(σ)ῳ πόλει A¹W: ipso Cilicio Lat
[3] ἕως conj. Niese.
[4] Πέρσας PFOVE

[a] More accurately, Mount Amanus by the Amanic Gates (Arrian ii 7. 1), where the coast of North Syria bends into that of Cilicia.

[b] The same statement is made by Diodorus, xvii 32 4 (*cf.* Arrian ii 6. 4 f). Arrian, ii 8 8, estimates Darius's army as 600,000 men , Diodorus, xvii 31 2, as 500,000 ; Justinus, xi. 9, and Curtius, iii. 2. 4, as 400,000

horsemen and foot-soldiers, being determined to meet the Macedonians before they should invade and conquer all Asia. Accordingly, he crossed the Euphrates river, passed over Taurus,[a] the mountain in Cilicia, and awaited the enemy at Issus in Cilicia, intending to give battle there. Then Sanaballetēs, who was glad that Darius had come down, told Manassēs that he would fulfil his promises as soon as Darius should return from conquering the enemy. For not only he himself but all those in Asia were convinced that the Macedonians would not even come to grips with the Persians because of their great number.[b] But the event proved other than they expected, for the king did engage the Macedonians and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army, his mother and wife and children being taken captive, while he fled to Persia.[c] And Alexander, coming to Syria, took Damascus, became master of Sidon[d] and besieged Tyre[e]; from there he dispatched a letter to the high priest of the Jews,[f] requesting him to send him assistance and supply his army with provisions and give him the gifts which they had formerly sent as tribute to Darius, thus

[c] The battle took place in October 333 B.C.

[d] The capture of Damascus and Sidon took place shortly after the battle of Issus, *cf.* B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, i. 81 n. 2.

[e] From January to July, 332 B.C., *cf.* § 325 note *c*.

[f] On the historicity and sources of Josephus's (legendary) account of Alexander's relations with the Jews and Samaritans see Appendix C. Here it may suffice to note that none of the extant non-Jewish sources mentions the Jews in connexion with Alexander; on the other hand, rabbinic tradition preserves a similar story (Bab. Talmud, *Yoma* 69a and Scholion, *Megillath Taʽanith* ix, "The Day of Mount Garizim"), which is given in the Appendix.

λουν δῶρα ταῦτ' αὐτῷ[1] διδόναι τὴν Μακεδόνων φιλίαν ἑλομένους· οὐ γὰρ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τούτοις.
18 τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως ἀποκριναμένου τοῖς γραμματοφόροις ὡς ὅρκους εἴη Δαρείῳ δεδωκὼς μὴ βαστάζειν ὅπλα κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἕως ἂν ᾖ Δαρεῖος ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν μὴ παραβήσεσθαι φήσαντος, ἀκούσας
19 Ἀλέξανδρος παρωξύνθη, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τύρον οὐκ ἔκρινε καταλιπεῖν ὅσον οὐδέπω[2] μέλλουσαν αἱρεῖσθαι, παραστησάμενος δὲ ταύτην ἠπείλει στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα καὶ διδάξειν πάντας δι' αὐτοῦ[3] πρὸς τίνας δὴ αὐτοῖς φυλακτέον
20 τοὺς ὅρκους· ὅθεν πονικώτερον χρησάμενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ λαμβάνει τὴν Τύρον. καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Γαζαίων πόλιν ἦλθε καὶ τήν τε Γάζαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ φρούραρχον ὄνομα Βαβημήσιν[4] ἐπολιόρκει.
21 (4) Νομίσας δὲ καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔχειν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς,[5] Δαρείου μὲν ἀπέγνω, λαβὼν δὲ[6] ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἧκε καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενον τῆς Τύρου πολιορκίας, ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἄρχει

[1] ταῦτ' αὐτῷ Niese: τούτῳ codd.: αὐτῷ ex Lat. Cocceji.
[2] οὔπω LAWE.
[3] δι' αὐτοῦ om. PV.
[4] Βαβιμίσιν F: Βαβημάσιν P: Βαβίσιν A marg.: Βαβιμίσην O. Babymasin Lat.: Bátis Arrian: Betis Qu. Curtius.
[5] ἐπιβουλῆς LW.
[6] λαβὼν δὲ] καὶ λαβὼν δὶς PFO(V).

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[a] The variant omits "through him."
[b] In the summer of 332 B.C., cf. § 325 note d.
[c] Variants Babēmasis, etc. The name appears as Batis in Arrian ii. 25. 4, as Betis (v.l. Batis) in Curtius iv. 6. 7. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 65 f. connects Batis with Iranian *Vata* (so also Prof. Louis H. Gray of Columbia,

choosing the friendship of the Macedonians, for, he said, they would not regret this course. But the high priest replied to the bearers of the letter that he had given his oath to Darius not to take up arms against him, and said that he would never violate this oath so long as Darius remained alive. When Alexander heard this, he was roused to anger, and while deciding not to leave Tyre, which was on the point of being taken, threatened that when he had brought it to terms he would march against the high priest of the Jews and through him [a] teach all men what people it was to whom they must keep their oaths, and for this reason continuing the siege with greater effort, he took Tyre. After he had settled affairs there he advanced against the city of Gaza and besieged it [b] together with the commander of its garrison, named Babēmēsis.[c]

The high priest Jaddus (Jaddua) remains loyal to Darius

(4) Now Sanaballetēs, believing that he had a favourable opportunity for his design, abandoned the cause of Darius and came, along with eight [d] thousand of the people under his rule, to Alexander, whom he found beginning the siege of Tyre, and said that he

The Samaritans court the victorious Alexander

in a private communication), while he considers Babemēsis a Semitic form. It seems to me that the similarity to one another of the variants in Josephus points to the survival of a genuine Iranian form. I suggest that the second element in the name, *mēsis*, is the same as that found in the Iranian name Waumisa (a general of Darius II, *cf.* F. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achameniden*, 1911, pp. 34 ff.), this, in turn, being a dialectal development of the name Mithra (*cf.* Justi *s.v.*). The first element, *babē-* may be a corruption of Iranian *Baga* "God" (this word being usually hellenized as *Mega*, *cf.* Megaphernes and similar names). To summarize, I suggest that the original name of the (presumably Persian) commander of Gaza was *Bagamisa* "Mithra is God."

[d] Variant 16 (lit. "twice eight").

τόπων ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι τούτους, καὶ δεσπότην αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀσμένως δ' αὐτὸν προσδεξαμένου[1] θαρρῶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης αὐτῷ λόγους προσέφερε, δηλῶν ὡς γαμβρὸν μὲν ἔχοι Μανασσῆν τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως Ἰαδδοῦ ἀδελφόν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αὐτῷ συμπαρόντας τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν θέλειν ἱερὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ τόποις ἤδη κατασκευάσαι τοῦτο δ' εἶναι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφέρον, εἰς δύο διῃρῆσθαι τὴν Ἰουδαίων δύναμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁμογνωμονοῦν τὸ ἔθνος μηδὲ συνεστός, εἰ νεωτερίσειέ ποτε, χαλεπὸν ᾖ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων ἄρξασιν ἐγένετο. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενος σπουδὴν ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Σαναβαλλέτης τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἱερέα τὸν Μανασσῆν κατέστησεν, μέγιστον γέρας ἡγησάμενος τοῖς ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς γενησομένοις τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι. μηνῶν δ' ἑπτὰ τῇ Τύρου πολιορκίᾳ διεληλυθότων καὶ δύο τῇ Γάζης[2] ὁ μὲν Σαναβαλλέτης ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξελὼν τὴν Γάζαν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀναβαίνειν ἐσπουδάκει ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς τοῦτ' ἀκούσας ἦν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ δέει, πῶς ἀπαντήσει τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀμηχανῶν, ὀργιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ πρότερον ἀπει-

[1] E ed. pr. -άμενος FLAW -αμένους P · -άμενοι OV
[2] Cocceji · Γάζῃ codd E Lat

[a] One variant makes Sanaballetes the subject, and Alexander the object, of the verb "received"

[b] *Cf* the charges made against the Jews by the Samaritans in the Persian period, §§ 97 ff.

was giving up to him the places under his rule and gladly accepted him as his master in place of King Darius. As Alexander received him in friendly fashion,[a] Sanaballetēs now felt confident about his plan and addressed him on that subject, explaining that he had a son-in-law Manassēs, who was the brother of Jaddūs, the high priest of the Jews, and that there were many others of his countrymen with him who now wished to build a temple in the territory subject to him. It was also an advantage to the king, he said, that the power of the Jews should be divided in two, in order that the nation might not, in the event of revolution, be of one mind and stand together and so give trouble to the kings as it had formerly given to the Assyrian rulers.[b] When, therefore, Alexander gave his consent, Sanaballetēs brought all his energy to bear and built the temple and appointed Manassēs high priest, considering this to be the greatest distinction which his daughter's descendants could have. But Sanaballetēs died after seven months had been spent on the siege of Tyre[c] and two on that of Gaza,[d] and Alexander, after taking Gaza, was in haste to go up to the city of Jerusalem.[e] When the high priest Jaddūs heard this, he was in an agony of fear, not knowing how he could meet the Macedonians, whose king was angered by his former disobedience. He therefore

Alexander sanctions the building of a Samaritan temple

[c] *Cf.* § 317 note *e*. The seven-month duration of the siege is mentioned in Diodorus xvii. 46. 5, Curtius iv. 4. 19 and Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* xxiv.

[d] *Cf.* § 320 note *b*. The two-month duration of this siege is also mentioned in Diodorus xvii. 48. 7.

[e] The extant non-Jewish sources state that Alexander left for Egypt almost immediately after taking Gaza, *cf.* Appendix C.

θείᾳ. παραγγείλας οὖν ἱκεσίαν[1] τῷ λαῷ καὶ θυσίαν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρων ἐδεῖτο ὑπερασπίσαι τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων κινδύνων ἀπαλ-
327 λάξαι. κατακοιμηθέντι δὲ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐχρημάτισεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς θαρρεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς νομίμοις στολαῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπάντησιν, μηδὲν προσδοκῶντας πείσεσθαι δεινὸν
328 προνοουμένου τοῦ θεοῦ διαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔχαιρέν τε μεγάλως αὐτός, καὶ τὸ χρηματισθὲν αὐτῷ πᾶσι μηνύσας καὶ ποιήσας ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ παρηγγέλη, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἐξεδέχετο

329 (5) Πυθόμενος δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ὄντα πρόεισι[2] μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ποιούμενος τὴν ὑπάντησιν εἰς τόπον τινὰ Σαφεὶν[3] λεγόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο μεταφερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν σκοπὸν[4] σημαίνει· τά τε γὰρ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῖθεν
330 συνέβαινεν ἀφορᾶσθαι. τῶν δὲ Φοινίκων καὶ τῶν

[1] ἱκετείαν LAW: ἱκεσίας V.
[2] πρόσεισι (P)LAE
[3] Σαφὶν FLE: Σαφὰν (-ᾶν W) A^{1}VW.
[4] σκοπὴν FL^{1}A^{1}VW: σκοπιὰν A marg · scopulum Lat.

[a] *Cf.* the description of the high priest's distress on a somewhat similar occasion in 2 Maccabees iii 14 ff

[b] Variants Saphin, Sapha(n) E Schurer, *Geschichte des judischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i (4th ed) 604 n 14, explains Saphein as the Aram form of Heb *Sôphîm* "Lookout," as Josephus translates Schurer identifies this *Sôphîm*, mentioned in the Mishnah, with the

ordered the people to make supplication, and, offering sacrifice to God together with them, besought Him to shield the nation and deliver them from the dangers that were hanging over them.[a] But, when he had gone to sleep after the sacrifice, God spoke oracularly to him in his sleep, telling him to take courage and adorn the city with wreaths and open the gates and go out to meet them, and that the people should be in white garments, and he himself with the priests in the robes prescribed by law, and that they should not look to suffer any harm, for God was watching over them. Thereupon he rose from his sleep, greatly rejoicing to himself, and announced to all the revelation that had been made to him, and, after doing all the things that he had been told to do, awaited the coming of the king. God reassures the high priest

(5) When he learned that Alexander was not far from the city, he went out with the priests and the body of citizens, and, making the reception sacred in character and different from that of other nations, met him at a certain place called Saphein.[b] This name, translated into the Greek tongue, means "Lookout." For, as it happened, Jerusalem and the temple could be seen from there. Now the Alexander greets the high priest reverently

hill called Σκοπός mentioned in *B.J.* ii. 528 *et al.* (so also, earlier, G. Boettger, *Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu Josephus*, p. 219). It is the modern Mount Scopus, about a mile N. of Jerusalem, where the Hebrew University now stands. According to the rabbinic version (see Appendix C) the meeting between Alexander and the high priest took place at Antipatris, some 20 miles N.E. of Joppa (Jaffa); this city was called Kephar Saba in pre-Herodian times (Καφαρσαβᾶ in *Ant.* xvi. 142), and Reland *apud* Hudson-Havercamp therefore suggests that a confusion between Saba and Sapha is responsible for the substitution of Antipatris for Saphein (or Sapha) in the rabbinic version.

ἀκολουθούντων Χαλδαίων[1] ὅσα βασιλέως ὀργὴν
εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτοῖς τήν τε πόλιν διαρπάσειν
καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα μετ᾽ αἰκίας ἀπολέσειν λογιζο-
331 μένων, τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ
Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐν
ταῖς λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς προεστῶτας ἐν
ταῖς βυσσίναις αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῇ ὑακιν-
θίνῳ καὶ διαχρύσῳ στολῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαριν καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς
ἔλασμα, ᾧ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγέγραπτο[2] ὄνομα, προσ-
ελθὼν μόνος προσεκύνησε τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀρχ-
332 ιερέα πρῶτος ἠσπάσατο. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ὁμοῦ
πάντων μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασαμένων
καὶ κυκλωσαμένων αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν τῆς Συρίας
βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος κατ-
επλάγησαν, καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν
333 ὑπελάμβανον, Παρμενίωνος δὲ μόνου προσελθόντος
αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου τί δήποτε προσκυνούντων
αὐτὸν ἁπάντων αὐτὸς προσκυνήσειε τὸν Ἰουδαίων
ἀρχιερέα; “οὐ τοῦτον,” εἶπεν, “προσεκύνησα,

[1] Χουθαίων Schotanus.
[2] Cocceji: ἐγέγραπτο codd.: ἐπεγέγραπτο E.

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[a] Suggested variant Cuthaeans. This might seem to find support in the rabbinic version, according to which the Cuthaeans (Samaritans) intended to destroy the temple in Jerusalem. I think it more probable, however, that "Chaldaeans" is correct (*cf.* "the kings of Syria" below in § 332) and that Josephus (or his source) is thinking of a later incident, referred to in 1 Maccabees iii. 41, when Syrian merchants accompanied the Seleucid general Lysias to Judaea in the hope of buying captured Jews as slaves.

[b] That is, Alexander greeted the high priest before being greeted by him.

Phoenicians and the Chaldaeans [a] who followed along thought to themselves that the king in his anger would naturally permit them to plunder the city and put the high priest to a shameful death, but the reverse of this happened. For when Alexander while still far off saw the multitude in white garments, the priests at their head clothed in linen, and the high priest in a robe of hyacinth-blue and gold, wearing on his head the mitre with the golden plate on it on which was inscribed the name of God, he approached alone and prostrated himself before the Name and first greeted the high priest.[b] Then all the Jews together greeted Alexander with one voice and surrounded him, but the kings of Syria and the others were struck with amazement at his action and supposed that the king's mind was deranged. And Parmenion [c] alone went up to him and asked why indeed, when all men prostrated themselves before him,[d] he had prostrated himself before the high priest of the Jews, whereupon he replied, "It was not before him that I prostrated myself but the God His oracular dream

[c] The Macedonian general, second in command to Alexander, who was left in charge of Syria and Palestine when Alexander went to Egypt (although it is not clear just how long Parmenion remained in Syria after Alexander's departure, *cf.* I. Spak, *Der Bericht des Josephus uber Alexander den Grossen*, 1911, pp. 29 f. and Appendix C). Parmenion plays a somewhat similar rôle as critic of Alexander in the well-known story told by Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* xxix., according to which he said he would accept Darius's terms if he were Alexander, whereupon Alexander replied, "And so should I, if I were Parmenion."

[d] The prostration (*proskynēsis*) is an anachronism, as is pointed out by Niese, *op. cit.* i. 83 n. 3, since Alexander allowed *proskynēsis* to himself only after Darius's death. For a detailed discussion of the practice *cf.* J. Hort, *Proskynein*, 1932 (*Neutestamentliche Forschungen*, 3. 2).

τὸν δὲ θεόν, οὗ τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ οὗτος τετίμηται
334 τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδον ἐν τῷ νῦν
σχήματι ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας τυγχάνων, καὶ
πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι πῶς ἂν κρατή-
σαιμι τῆς Ἀσίας, παρεκελεύετο μὴ μέλλειν[1] ἀλλὰ
θαρσοῦντα διαβαίνειν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡγήσεσθαί[2] μου
τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τὴν Περσῶν παραδώσειν ἀρχήν.
335 ὅθεν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα θεασάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ
στολῇ, τοῦτον δὲ νῦν ἰδὼν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς
ὕπνους ἀναμνησθεὶς ὄψεώς τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως,
νομίζω θείᾳ πομπῇ τὴν στρατείαν πεποιημένος
Δαρεῖον νικήσειν καὶ τὴν Περσῶν καταλύσειν[3] δύ-
ναμιν καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν ἐστί μοι προχωρή-
336 σειν." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ
δεξιωσάμενος τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων[4] παρα-
θεόντων, εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραγίνεται. καὶ ἀνελθὼν
ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θύει μὲν τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως ὑφήγησιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ
337 τοὺς ἱερεῖς[5] ἀξιοπρεπῶς ἐτίμησεν. δειχθείσης δ'
αὐτῷ τῆς Δανιήλου βίβλου, ἐν ᾗ τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καταλύσειν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐδήλου, νομίσας
αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σημαινόμενος τότε μὲν ἡσθεὶς ἀπέλυσε
τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκέ-
λευσεν αὐτοὺς αἰτεῖσθαι δωρεὰς ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ θέ-
338 λωσιν. τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως αἰτησαμένου χρήσασθαι

[1] μένειν PFLV: neglegere Lat.
[2] ἡγήσασθαί PFV.
[3] νικῆσαι . . . καταλῦσαι Lat.
[4] ἱερέων FAVW: reliquis sacerdotibus Lat.
[5] καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς om. PFVE.

of whom he has the honour to be high priest, for it was he whom I saw in my sleep dressed as he is now, when I was at Dium in Macedonia, and, as I was considering with myself how I might become master of Asia, he urged me not to hesitate [a] but to cross over confidently, for he himself would lead my army and give over to me the empire of the Persians Since, therefore, I have beheld no one else in such robes, and on seeing him now I am reminded of the vision and the exhortation, I believe that I have made this expedition under divine guidance and that I shall defeat Darius and destroy the power of the Persians and succeed in carrying out all the things which I have in mind " After saying these things to Parmenion, he gave his hand to the high priest and, with the Jews [b] running beside him, entered the city. Then he went up to the temple, where he sacrificed to God under the direction of the high priest, and showed due honour to the priests and [c] to the high priest himself And, when the book of Daniel was shown to him, in which he had declared that one of the Greeks would destroy the empire of the Persians,[d] he believed himself to be the one indicated, and in his joy he dismissed the multitude for the time being, but on the following day he summoned them again and told them to ask for any gifts which they might desire When the high priest asked that they might observe their

Alexander sacrifices in the temple at Jerusalem.

[a] Variant " remain " [b] Variant " priests."

[c] The variant omits " to the priests and " (in the Greek the words " to the high priest himself " precede " to the priests ").

[d] *Cf Ant.* x. 273 on Dan viii 21. The latter part of the book of Daniel (chs vii.-xii) is generally held by biblical scholars to have been written after 165 B C.

τοῖς πατρίοις[1] νόμοις καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος ἀνείσφορον εἶναι, συνεχώρησε πάντα παρακαλεσάντων δ' αὐτὸν[2] ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Μηδίᾳ Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιτρέψῃ νόμοις χρῆσθαι,
339 ἀσμένως ὑπέσχετο[3] ποιήσειν ἅπερ ἀξιοῦσιν εἰπόντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ βούλονται συστρατεύειν τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῶντες, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολλοὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατείαν ἠγάπησαν

340 (6) Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐξεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐχομένας πόλεις πάντων δ' αὐτὸν πρὸς οὓς ἀφίκοιτο φιλοφρόνως ἐκδεχομένων, Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμαν ἔχοντες κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζεὶν ὄρει καὶ κατῳκημένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, ἰδόντες ὅτι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτω λαμπρῶς τετίμηκεν, ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς
341 Ἰουδαίους ὁμολογεῖν. εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς τοιοῦτοι τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἤδη που καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὄντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀρνοῦνται συγγενεῖς ἔχειν,[4] ὁμολογοῦντες τότε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν δέ τι περὶ αὐτοὺς λαμπρὸν ἴδωσιν ἐκ τύχης, ἐξαίφνης[5] ἐπιπηδῶσιν αὐτῶν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, προσήκειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰωσήπου γενεαλογοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐκγόνων Ἐφραί-
342 μου καὶ Μανασσοῦ. μετὰ λαμπρότητος οὖν καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν ἀπήντησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐγγὺς

[1] E πατρῴοις codd
[2] αὐτῶν FA¹OVW.
[3] ὑπεδέχετο FLOV
[4] ἔχειν V · om. rell.
[5] ἐξαίφνης om PFLE

country's laws and in the seventh year be exempt from tribute, he granted all this Then they begged that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media also to have their own laws, and he gladly promised to do as they asked And, when he said to the people that if any wished to join his army while still adhering to the customs of their country, he was ready to take them, many eagerly accepted service with him.[a]

The Samaritans again court Alexander

(6) And so, having regulated these matters at Jerusalem, Alexander marched off against the neighbouring cities But all those peoples to whom he came received him in a friendly spirit, whereupon the Samaritans, whose chief city at that time was Shechem,[b] which lay beside Mount Garizein and was inhabited by apostates from the Jewish nation, seeing that Alexander had so signally honoured the Jews, decided to profess themselves Jews. For such is the nature of the Samaritans, as we have already shown somewhere above[c] When the Jews are in difficulties, they deny that they have any kinship with them, thereby indeed admitting the truth, but whenever they see some splendid bit of good fortune come to them, they suddenly[d] grasp at the connexion with them, saying that they are related to them and tracing their line back to Ephraim and Manasseh, the descendants of Joseph. So, then, with splendour and a show of great eagerness on his behalf, they met the king when he was hardly out of Jerusalem.

[a] *Cf* Josephus's citation from Hecataeus of Abdera in *Ap* i. 192 ff The genuineness of these citations from Hecataeus has been recently reaffirmed by H Lewy in *Zeitschrift fur neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 31, 1932, pp. 117-132.

[b] Greek Sikima, *cf* *Ant* x 69 note *d*

[c] *Cf*. *Ant*. ix 291 and note.

[d] The variant omits "suddenly."

τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου οἱ Σικιμῖται προσῆλθον αὐτῷ προσπαραλαβόντες καὶ οὓς Σαναβαλλέτης πρὸς αὐτὸν στρατιώτας ἀπέστειλε καὶ παρεκάλουν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τιμῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρ'
343 αὐτοῖς ἱερόν. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνο[1] μὲν αὖθις ὑποστρέφων παρέξειν[2] ὑπέσχετο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀξιούντων δὲ ἀφεῖναι[3] τὸν φόρον αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἑβδοματικοῦ ἔτους, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς σπείρειν ἐν αὐτῷ, τίνες ὄντες
344 ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπυνθάνετο. τῶν δ' εἰπόντων Ἑβραῖοι μὲν εἶναι, χρηματίζειν δ' οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι,[4] πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ τυγχάνουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι. τῶν δ' οὐκ εἶναι φαμένων "ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκα, ὑποστρέψας μέντοι γε καὶ διδαχθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀκριβέστερον ποιήσω τὰ δόξαντα." τοῖς μὲν οὖν Σικιμίταις
345 οὕτως ἀπετάξατο. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἕπεσθαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δώσειν κλήρους γῆς· ὃ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι, φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς προστάξας.

[1] ἐκείνοις V.
[2] ἥξειν FVE Lat.: ἕξειν W: ἰδεῖν P.
[3] ἀφιέναι FLOV.
[4] χρηματίζειν . . . Σιδώνιοι] Sichimitas autem a Sidoniis nuncupari Lat.

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[a] Or "commended."
[b] The variant (after "promised") "to come" is obviously corrupt.
[c] Cf. *Ant.* xii. 257 ff. M. Rostovtzeff in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii. 191, commenting on the colonizing activity of the Phoenician cities, writes, "at Marissa in Palestine there certainly existed [in Ptolemaic and Seleucid times] a colony of Sidonians, for the most part Greeks . . .

And, when Alexander encouraged[a] them, the Shechemites approached him, bringing along the soldiers whom Sanaballetēs had sent to him, and invited him to come to their city and honour the temple there as well. Thereupon he promised to grant this request[b] another time when he should come back to them, but, when they asked him to remit their tribute in the seventh year, saying that they did not sow therein, he inquired who they were that they made this request. And, when they said that they were Hebrews but were called the Sidonians of Shechem,[c] he again asked them whether they were Jews. Then, as they said that they were not, he replied, "But I have given these privileges to the Jews. However, when I return and have more exact information from you, I shall do as I think best." With these words, then, he sent the Shechemites away. But the soldiers of Sanaballetēs he ordered to accompany him to Egypt; there, he said, he would give them allotments of land, as in fact he did shortly afterwards, in the Thebaid, and this territory he ordered them to guard.[d]

We must bring this into relation with the well-known exchange of letters between Antiochus and the Sidonians at Shechem. . . Such semi-Greeks from the Phoenician cities were probably scattered in groups throughout Judaea and Samaria." But Josephus must not be understood to mean that the Jews recognized Sanballat and his friends even as semi-Greeks.

[d] In Ptolemaic Egypt there was a village in the Fayum (about 65 miles S. of the apex of the Delta) called Samareia. There seems to be no other ancient reference to Samaritans in the Thebaid, which, in Josephus's time, could hardly have included the Fayum district, *cf.* Strabo, xvii. 3 (*c.* 787). Niese, *GGMS* ii. 112 n. 2, thinks this statement "ganz unzuverlassig." On the Samaritans in Alexandria *cf. Ant.* xiii. 74 ff., and in Egypt generally, *Ant.* xii. 7 ff.

346 (7) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους[1] ἐμερίσθη,[2] τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους ἱερὸν ἔμεινεν.[3] εἰ δέ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις παρανομίας ἤ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου
347 ἁμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγε, λέγων ἀδίκως ἐκβεβλῆσθαι.[4] τετελευτήκει δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰαδδοῦς καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὀνίας ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παρειλήφει. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐν τούτοις ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα

[1] διαφόρους PFV. [2] διεμερίσθη AWE
[3] ἔμενεν LAWE.
[4] ἐγκεκλῆσθαι WE: ἐκκεκλῆσθαι V. culpari Lat.

(7) When Alexander died,[a] his empire was partitioned among his successors (the Diadochi); as for the temple on Mount Garizein, it remained. And, whenever anyone was accused by the people of Jerusalem of eating unclean food or violating the Sabbath or committing any other such sin, he would flee to the Shechemites, saying that he had been unjustly expelled[b] Now by that time the high priest Jaddūs was also dead, and his son Onias[c] succeeded to the high priesthood. This, then, was the way things were with the people of Jerusalem at that time.

Jewish apostates join the Samaritans.

[a] In June, 323 B.C.

[b] Variant "accused."

[c] The first of several high priests of that name in the pre-Hasmonaean period, *cf.* Appendix B in Vol VII.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Θ

α´.[1] Ὡς στρατευσάμενος ὁ Ἀχάβου παῖς Ἰώραμος ἐπὶ Μωαβίτας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

β´. Ὡς ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ Ἰώραμος βασιλεύων τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν λαβὼν[2] τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους φίλους ἀπέκτεινεν.

γ´.[3] Ὅτι τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀποστάσης καὶ στρατευσάντων[4] ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀράβων ἥ τε δύναμις αὐτοῦ πᾶσα διεφθάρη καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πάρεξ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἔτι νηπίου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αὐτὸς ἀσεβὴς γενόμενος κακῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

δ´. Στρατεία τοῦ Σύρων καὶ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώραμον, καὶ πῶς πολιορκηθεὶς οὗτος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ παραδόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

ε´. Ὡς αὐτὸς Ἰώραμος ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Ἰηοῦ

[1] numeros om. MSP

[2] πᾶσαν λαβὼν] παραλαβὼν conj Niese

[3] IIII Lat. in quo hoc caput post quartum exhibetur.

[4] στρατοπεδευσάντων MSP.

[a] Several MSS. omit the section numberings in Books IX-XI.

APPENDIX A

AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK IX

[b] The table omits to mention Jehosaphat, Ahaziah and Elijah, §§ 1-28.

[c] This section belongs before section iii.

ἀναιρεθεὶς τοῦ ἱππάρχου, καὶ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ὀχοζίας.

ϛʹ. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ὁ Ἰηοῦς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ διατρίβων, καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας

ζʹ. Ὡς γυνή τις Ὀθλία[1] *τοὔνομα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε, καὶ ἀνελὼν αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰώδας*[2] *τὸν Ὀχοζίου παῖδα Ἰωάσην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.*

ηʹ. Ἀζαήλου τοῦ Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεία καὶ ὡς πολλὰ κακὰ τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν διαθεὶς καὶ τὴν Σαμαρέων[3] *πόλιν, ὀλίγῳ πάλιν*[4] *ὕστερον χρόνῳ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀνέζευξεν.*

θʹ. Ὡς Ἀμασίας ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους καὶ Ἀμαληκίτας ἐνίκησεν.

ιʹ. Ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος πολεμῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ἰώασον ἡττᾶται μέν, ληφθεὶς δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα δοὺς ἀπελύθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡς[5] *ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ὀζίας τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη ἐχειρώσατο.*

[1] *Γοθολία* MSP Lat
[2] *Ἰωάδας* RO: Ioahdas Lat.
[3] *Σαμαρειτῶν* MSP
[4] *ὀλίγῳ πάλιν* om MSP.
[5] *καὶ ὡς κτλ* decimo cap ascribit Lat, undecimo codd.

[a] The variant omits "a little while thereafter."

ια'. Στρατεία τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως Ἱεροβάμου[1] ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ νίκη.

ιβ'[2] Ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα παρὰ Φακέα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν εἰσπραξάμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

ιγ'. Ὅτι στρατευσάμενος Ῥαασσεὶν[3] ὁ Δαμασκοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἠνάγκασεν Ἀχάζην τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαντα χρήματα πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων πεῖσαι τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν στρατεύσασθαι

ιδ'. Ὡς κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Δαμασκὸν καὶ διέφθειρε μὲν αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀναστήσας εἰς Μηδίαν ἕτερα ἔθνη κατῴκισεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ.

ιε'. Ὡς Σαλμανάσαρ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ πέντε πολιορκήσας ἔτεσιν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Ὠσῆν παραστησάμενος τὴν πόλιν ἀπέκτεινεν

ιϛ'. Καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀσσύριος τὰς δέκα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φυλὰς εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν κατοικίσας, ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος τὸ τῶν Χουθαίων ἔθνος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μετήγαγε χώραν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σαμαρεῖς καλοῦσιν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ζ' μηνῶν.

[1] Ἰωράμου MP Ἰωράβου S.
[2] ιγ' RO, sic et in seqq. diff codd
[3] Ἀρασὶν M Ἀρασὴν P Ἀρασής S Rasin Lat

[a] From King Menahem, according to Josephus and Scripture

This book covers a period of a hundred and fifty years and seven months.

[b] According to Josephus and Scripture Hosea was imprisoned, not killed.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ι

α'.[1] Στρατεία τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως Σεναχειρίβου[2] ἐπὶ[3] Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πολιορκία τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν[4] Ἐζεκίου.

β'. Ὡς ἐφθάρη τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στράτευμα[5] λοιμικῶς ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἀναζεύξας οἴκαδε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπέθανεν.

γ'. Ὡς τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον μετ' εἰρήνης Ἐζεκίας διαγαγὼν ἐτελεύτησε, διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Μανασσῆν καταλιπών

δ'. Ὅτι στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖς καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἤγαγον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ κατασχόντες αὐτόθι πολὺν χρόνον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν[6] πάλιν ἀπέλυσαν

ε'. Ὡς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεχαῶνα στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ ποιούμενον διὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὴν ὁδὸν[7] κωλύων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας ὑπαντᾷ· μάχης δὲ γενομένης τραυματίας κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τελευτᾷ, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάζην ἀπέδειξαν οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται βασιλέα.

[1] numeros om MSPLV
[2] Σεναχειρίμου O Σενναχειρίβου MS(P) Σεναχηρείβου LV. Sennacherib Lat
[3] εἰς MSPLV.
[4] αὐτῶν om MLV Lat foit. recte.
[5] + ὅλον SPLV
[6] τὴν βασ ex Lat Niese· τὴν αὐτὴν βασ codd · τὴν αὐτοῦ βασ ed pr
[7] δίοδον ROSPLV

[a] Variant " the entire "
[b] Against the Medes and Babylonians, according to Josephus, against the king of Assyria, according to Scripture

BOOK X

[c] The table omits to mention the discovery of the Book of the Law in the reign of Josiah.

ϛʹ. Ὡς συμβαλὼν ὁ Νεχαὼς τῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτεν ποταμὸν καὶ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἧκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάζην ἤγαγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰωάκειμον ἀπέδειξε[1] *βασιλέα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν.*

ζʹ. Ναβουχοδονοσάρου τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως στρατεία εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρεψάμενος ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἰωάκειμον φίλον ἠνάγκασεν εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον.

ηʹ. Ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου πάλιν ὁ Ἰωάκειμος ἐφρόνησε τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσαρος καὶ πολιορκήσας τῆς πόλεως παραδούσης ἑαυτὴν μετὰ χρόνον, τὸν μὲν Ἰωάκειμον ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰωάκειμον[2] *δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ*[3] *κατέστησε βασιλέα· καὶ ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων εὐθέως εἰς Συρίαν ὑπέστρεψεν.*

θʹ. Ὅτι μετανοήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰωάκειμον ποιῆσαι βασιλέα καὶ στρατεύσας, ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ Ἰωακείμου γίνεται παραδόντος αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ὅπως[4] *τ' ἔλαβε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, καὶ ἀναθήματα*

[1] *ἀνέδειξε* RO.
[2] *Ἰωάχιμον* M[1]SP · *Ἰωάκιμον* M[2] : *Ἰωαχημον* L Ioach Lat.
[3] + *ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα (τυγχάνοντα* LV) SPLV.
[4] *ὅπως* cap. X incip codd., IX contin. Lat

[a] Necho carried off Jehoahaz to Egypt (§ 83) before his battle with Nebuchadnezzar at the Euphrates (§ 84) Possibly the author of the table confuses this campaign with Necho's earlier march to the Euphrates against the Medes and Babylonians (*cf* note *b*, p 490)

[b] The variant adds "who had the same name."
[c] The table omits to mention the prophecies of Jeremiah.

βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, τὸν Ἰεχονίου θεῖον Σεδεκίαν[1] τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέα καταστήσας

ι΄. Ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἀκούσας βούλεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐμπρήσας τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν δῆμον καὶ Σεδεκίαν μετῴκισεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

ια΄. Ὡς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος τελευτήσας διάδοχον καταλείπει τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὡς καταλύεται ἡ τούτων ἀρχὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως.

ιβ΄. Ὅσα συνέβη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ρπβ΄ μῆνας ϛ΄ ἡμέρας ι΄.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΑ

α΄.[2] Ὡς Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπολύσας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν, δοὺς αὐτοῖς χρήματα

β΄. Ὅτι διεκώλυσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως

[1] Σαχχίαν ex Lat Niese.
[2] numeros hab FV[2] Lat, om rell

[a] The table omits the story of Gedaliah's governorship and assassination.
[b] The story of Daniel is meant.

BOOK XI

[c] *i.e.* the Samaritans.

ἡγεμόνες κατασκευάσαι τὸ ἱερόν, ἐμποδὼν γενόμενοι τοῖς ἔργοις

γʹ. Ὡς Κύρου τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐκ παντὸς ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν.

δʹ. Ὅτι Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεω[1] βασιλεύσας Περσῶν ἐτίμησεν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῶν ἀνῳκοδόμησεν.

εʹ. Ὡς μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ξέρξης οἰκείως πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διετέθη.

ϛʹ. Ὅτι βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου Ἰουδαίων πᾶν[2] τὸ ἔθνος ἐκινδύνευσεν.[3]

ζʹ. Ὡς Βαγώσης ὁ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ νεωτέρου στρατηγὸς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξύβρισεν.

ηʹ. Ὡς[4] ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐεργέτησεν αὐτούς, κρατήσας τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν σμγʹ μηνῶν εʹ.

[1] Ὑστάσπεο F Ὑστάσπο, ο ex ω corr. A Ὑστάσπεως V Ὑστάσπεος W Histaspius Lat

[2] Ἰουδαίων πᾶν] μικροῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πᾶν V μικροῦ πᾶν AW.

[3] + δι' Ἀμάνου δολον FLV

[4] ὅσα AVW Lat

[a] The table omits to mention Zerubbabel.

[b] The story of Ezra and Nehemiah is meant

[c] Variant " almost the entire."

This book covers a period of two hundred and forty-three years and five months.

[d] The variant adds "through the plotting of Haman." The story of Esther is meant

APPENDIX B

Josephus on the Samaritan Schism

(*Ant* xi 297-347)

Selected literature :

Buchler, A , "La relation de Josèphe concernant Alexandre le Grand," *REJ* xxxvi, 1898, pp. 1-26

Cowley, A., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* 1913.

Eissfeldt, O , *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* 1934

Gaster, M , *The Samaritans* (Schweich Lectures) 1925

Holscher, G , *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit* 1903

"Ezra-Nehemiah," in *Die heilige Schrift des alten Testaments*, ed. Kautzsch 4th ed 1923

Hoonacker, A van, "La Succession chronologique Néhemie—Esdras," *RB* xxxii, 1923, pp 481-494 ; xxxiii, 1924, pp 33-64

Kittel, R., *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* iii. 2. 1929

Mittwoch, E , "Der Wiederaufbau des judischen Tempels in Elephantine," *Festschrift Cohen* 1912

Montgomery, J , *The Samaritans* 1907

Morgenstein, J , "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA* x, 1935, pp 1-148

Motzo, B., "Una fonte sacerdotale antisamaritana di Giuseppe," in *Saggi di Storia e Letteratura giudeo-ellenistica* 1924.

Offord, J., "Sanballat in Josephus and the Elephantine Papyri," *PEF* 1919, pp. 86-87.

Spak, I., *Der Bericht des Josephus uber Alexander den Grossen* 1911.

Torrey, C., "Sanballat 'The Horonite,'" *JBL* xlvii, 1928, pp. 380-389.

Tscherikower, A., *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew) 1930.

Book XI of the *Antiquities* relates the history of the Jews under Persian rule, from the first Achaemenid king, Cyrus, to the last, Darius III. The narrative, up to § 297, is based on three biblical books, 1 Esdras, the Greek version of Nehemiah (perhaps in an abbreviated form or in a recension somewhat different from the extant texts, but see below), and the Greek version of Esther. From § 297 on Josephus makes use of extra-biblical sources and relates two incidents otherwise unknown to us; the first is the conflict between the high priest Joannes (bibl. Johanan) and his brother Jesus (Jeshua) supported by the Persian governor Bagoses; the second is the conflict between the high priest Jaddus (bibl. Jaddua) and his brother Manasses (bibl. Manasseh) supported by his father-in-law, the Samaritan leader Sanballat, who is later brought into relation with Alexander the Great.

As we have seen (§ 297 note *g*), the text of the passage in which Bagoses is introduced is not certain. One reading (plausibly emended) has "Bagoses, the general (or "governor") of the second Artaxerxes"; the variant has simply "Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes," not specifying which king of that name

is meant. Even if the former reading contains a gloss in the words "the second," it may quite well be a correct gloss. The context is not decisive; the preceding section deals with the story of Esther, whom Josephus places in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.); if, therefore, we read "Artaxerxes" instead of "the second Artaxerxes," we should suppose that the same king is meant. On the other hand the section following introduces Johanan's immediate successor Jaddua who is said to be a contemporary of Darius III and Alexander the Great; this would indicate that Bagoses lived in the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus (359–338 B.C.). But it is unlikely that Josephus would pass from Artaxerxes I in the Esther story to Artaxerxes III without some intimation that a different king is meant. It is therefore probable that we should accept the reading "the second Artaxerxes" and place Bagoses in the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–359 B.C.). The fact that a Persian general of the same name is mentioned in connexion with Artaxerxes III by Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 47, is hardly of significance, the name is not uncommon and there may well have been several Persian generals or governors of that name; moreover, the Bagoses of Diodorus is not connected with Judaea.

The evidence of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (Aram. *Yeb*) in Upper Egypt makes it even more probable that Bagoses belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II. We learn from them that the Persian governor of Judaea in 408 B.C. (near the end of the reign of Darius II, the predecessor of Artaxerxes II) was Bigwai (of which Bagoses is the hellenized form, *cf.* § 297 note *f*) and that he was a contemporary of the high priest Johanan. Now it is extremely unlikely

that fifty years later there was another Persian governor named Bigwai contemporary with a high priest named Johanan We may therefore safely assume that Josephus's Bagoses is the Bigwai of the papyri Moreover, the political situation indicated by the papyri helps us understand the conflict between the Persian governor and the high priest much better than the fanciful story told by Josephus enables us to do

The following was, in brief, the situation in Palestine in the last decade of the 5th century B C. In 408 B C. the leaders of the Jewish community at Elephantine in Upper Egypt wrote to Bigwai, complaining that the Egyptians, in league with the local Persian official Waidrang, had destroyed their temple, and they appealed to Bigwai to help them rebuild it and resume the offering of grain, incense and animal sacrifice or burnt-offering (ʿ*alwethā*) Their letter (No 30 ed. Cowley) also states that three years previously they had written to " Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem and the nobles of Jerusalem," asking them for help, but had received no answer They now appeal to Bigwai, adding, " Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria " Subsequently Bigwai and Delaiah replied (No 32) that the Jews of Elephantine might rebuild their temple and offer " the meal-offering and incense upon that altar as formerly was done " On this Cowley remarks, " Note that ʿ*alwethā* is omitted—no doubt intentionally It is generally supposed that the animal sacrifices had offended the Egyptians, and that this was sufficient to make Bigvai discountenance them, apart from any

view which the priests at Jerusalem might hold and with which Bigvai might or might not sympathize. But, as Ed Meyer points out (*Papyrusfund* p 88), the Egyptians did themselves sacrifice certain animals, and he thinks that the prohibition was due to the Zoroastrian view that fire was profaned by contact with dead bodies." But the latter objection might apply equally to the animal sacrifices at Jerusalem. More plausible is the explanation offered by Mittwoch He believes that the Jerusalem priests opposed animal sacrifices at a temple outside Jerusalem, while the Samaritans, who were opposed to the Jerusalem priesthood, probably looked with favour on such a rival temple and cult ; as for Bigwai, he found himself in a difficult position between the conflicting views of the Samaritans and the priests at Jerusalem, and so effected a compromise by allowing the Jews of Elephantine to rebuild their temple and make the usual offerings with the exception of the burnt-offering A more detailed reconstruction of the political situation is offered by Morgenstern, which seems to me to account most satisfactorily for the attitude of Bigwai as indicated both in the papyri and in Josephus There are some points in his theory which take a great deal for granted, but what he has to say concerning our immediate problem is worth quoting at some length. " The murder of Jesus by Johanan must have been far more than a mere personal incident Josephus states very plainly that Jesus too was an aspirant for the high-priesthood, and that in this ambition he enjoyed the support of Bagoas, the then Persian governor of Palestine This Bagoas must have been the successor of Nehemiah in this high office, though whether the immediate successor, lack of evidence

forbids us to determine. Josephus represents him as pursuing a policy of oppression of the Jews of Palestine, but this probably overstates the case Josephus wrote, of course, from the standpoint of the extreme particularism of Ezra and Nehemiah which came in time, and with only comparatively slight amelioration, to dominate the spirit of Judaism for centuries. But Josephus does record that this Bagoas supported Jesus in his candidacy for the high-priesthood ; and this was certainly the same Bagoas to whom in 408 B C the Jews of Elephantine addressed their petition for permission to rebuild their temple of Yahweh Moreover, it is significant that not only did Bagoas grant the desired permission, but also that in so doing he associated himself with Delaiah, the son of Sanballat, the Samaritan It seems clear, therefore, that Bagoas was not so much an enemy and oppressor of the entire Jewish community of Palestine as that he sought to play a role of partisan politics in their affairs. Obviously too his affiliations were with the native and against the pro-Babylonian Jewish party, as his association with Delaiah, the son of Sanballat, indicates." Particularly important in this connexion is the footnote which Morgenstern appends to the statement about the grant of permission to the Jews of Elephantine to rebuild their temple, which we have touched on above "It is an additional matter of interest and perhaps also of significance that the order of Bagoas permitted the offering of grain-sacrifices and incense upon the altar of the Yahweh temple at Elephantine, but was altogether silent with regard to animal sacrifices. Undoubtedly this silence implied that the sacrifice of animals was not permitted, perhaps as Cowley suggests (*op. cit.*

124), following Ed Meyer, because such sacrifices would have done violence to the religious scruples of a zealous Zoroastrian However, whatever the motive for this prohibition may have been, it is impossible not to correlate it with the fact recorded by Josephus, that Bagoas levied upon the Jews of Palestine a tax of fifty shekels for every lamb slaughtered for the daily sacrifice in the Temple A tax so extreme must have been almost prohibitive This may, therefore, well have been a [illegible] diplomatic means by which Bagoas [illegible] the offering of animal sacrifices also in the Temple at Jerusalem"

We may now, as briefly as possible, consider the problem of the more or less final break between the Judaeans and the inhabitants of the region round Shechem or Samaria. We must remember that there had long been hostility between Jerusalem and the North (bibl. Ephraim)—as early as the reign of David. We should also bear in mind the possibility that even after Nehemiah's time there may have been friendly relations between at least some of the leaders of the Jerusalem community and the Samaritans But that there was a definite separation between the Judaeans as a whole and the people of Samaria in the time of Nehemiah can hardly be questioned. The problem remains whether the schism took place in the 5th century, as Scripture seems to indicate, or at the time of Alexander the Great, as Josephus states We must, therefore, attempt to determine the relation of the Sanballat of Josephus's narrative to Sanballat the Horonite of the book of Nehemiah

First, a word about the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as sources for the history of the Persian period These two books, originally one book, are now found before

the last two books of the Hebrew Bible, the books of Chronicles; these were also one book originally, *preceding* Ezra-Nehemiah The resemblances of style between the larger part of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles show that both books are part of a single work compiled by a writer with a special interest in the cult of the temple at Jerusalem and a strong prejudice against the Samaritans, whom he regards as the descendants of the eastern peoples settled in Samaria by the Assyrians and therefore as not true Israelites. This writer, now generally known among biblical scholars as the Chronicler, probably published his work *c* 300 B.C., although some scholars date it a century earlier, assuming that the references to the period following Nehemiah are later additions to the Chronicler's book. The Chronicler is generally supposed to have based his history of Nehemiah's period on the memoirs of Nehemiah himself, these form the basis of Neh i.-vii ; the following chapters, viii.-x. are out of place, as they clearly belong to the story of Ezra ; chs xi.-xiii contain a good deal of material which dates from a period subsequent to Nehemiah's. Almost all scholars accept the Nehemiah narrative as substantially historical. There is, however, no general agreement as to the dates of Nehemiah's two visits to Palestine.

According to Neh. ii 1 ff. Nehemiah first came to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, but Scripture does not indicate which Artaxerxes is meant (the fact that one consonant in the spelling of the name is a phonetic variant of the consonant used in the name Artaxerxes mentioned in the Aramaic documents in the book of Ezra does not necessarily mean that the Chronicler or a later scribe meant to

distinguish two Persian kings of that name; and even if it did, the distinction throws no light on the chronology of Nehemiah) If the king meant is Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.), Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C.; if Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.) is meant, he came in 384 B.C. There are, however, historical considerations of a general nature, excellently presented by Hoonacker, which make it probable, apart from the evidence of the Elephantine papyri, that Nehemiah served under Artaxerxes I, though it is only fair to note that many biblical scholars believe that the Chronicler meant Artaxerxes II. But if we take into account the evidence of the papyri, as well as the historical background and the succession of high priests, we may fairly claim much greater probability for the view that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C. Nehemiah was a contemporary of the high priest Eliashib, who was succeeded by his son Joiada, and he in turn by Johanan (read "Johanan" for "Jonathan" in Neh. xii. 11, as in xi. 22). As there was only one high priest named Johanan in the Persian period, this Johanan must be identical with the Johanan of the papyri who was high priest in 411 B.C. Furthermore, according to Neh. xiii. 28 a son of Joiada, and therefore a brother of Johanan, was a son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite. It seems clear, therefore, that Nehemiah, a contemporary of Johanan's grandfather, came to Jerusalem in the reign of Artaxerxes I, and that his adversary, Sanballat the Horonite, was the same person as the Sanballat mentioned in the papyri; since the latter's son Delaiah was obviously a mature person in 411 B.C., we may assume that Sanballat himself was a mature person thirty years earlier

when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem And if the preceding argument is correct, the Samaritan schism must have taken place in the second half of the 5th century B C , not in the second half of the 4th century as Josephus has it Now it has been argued, by Torrey among others (see below), that the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritan leaders as well as to Bigwai in 408 B C shows that there was not yet a break between the people of Jerusalem and the Samaritans. But no such inference need be drawn On the contrary, the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritans after they had been ignored by the priests of Jerusalem, the high priest Johanan, and "the nobles of the Jews," and the fact that Bigwai, the Persian governor, was allied with the Samaritans and hostile to Johanan (according to Josephus's story), would indicate that there was a break between Judaeans and Samaritans, which the Jews of Elephantine learned about some time before 408 B.C They may or may not have known about it when they first appealed to Johanan in 411 B C But it is likely that the schism had taken place soon after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B C.

If, then, Nehemiah and Sanballat the Horonite belong to the 5th century B C., the only way to vindicate the historicity of Josephus's narrative about Jaddua, Manasses and Sanballat, at least in part, is to assume with Spak that the Sanballat of Josephus was not the adversary of Nehemiah, but his grandson, Sanballat II, who, Spak further assumes, succeeded his father Delaiah as governor of Samaria and Bagoses as governor of Judaea (!) This, of course, makes it necessary, as Spak himself recognizes, to correct

Josephus's statement (§ 302) that Sanballat was sent to Samaria as "satrap" by Darius III, the last Persian king But the best answer to Spak's argument is that made by Cowley: "The view that there were two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria and each with a daughter who married a brother of a High Priest, is a solution too desperate to be entertained." There remains the somewhat different theory proposed by Torrey, which, while accepting Josephus's story that the Samaritan schism occurred at the time of Alexander the Great's arrival in Palestine, and assuming the existence of two Sanballats, gets rid of the remarkable coincidence involved in Spak's theory by assuming that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II in 384 B C when there was not yet any schism, Torrey thinks, according to the evidence of the papyri (see above, for the answer to this argument) and that the Sanballat of Nehemiah was *not* the Sanballat of the papyri who lived in the 5th century, but Sanballat II about whom Josephus writes Torrey does not, however, offer a single compelling reason to make us believe that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II Moreover, even if we were to grant that Nehemiah came in 384 B C, there would be a chronological difficulty in the way of Torrey's theory that it was Sanballat II who gave his daughter in marriage to the brother of the high priest; for the Sanballat who opposed Nehemiah must have been a mature person, perhaps forty years old, in 384 B C, and must therefore have been a very old man, as indeed Josephus says he was, when Alexander arrived in 332 B C Now it is extremely unlikely that so old a man would have had a daughter young and attractive enough to

hold the love of the high priest's brother (*cf.* § 309), for in ancient Palestine men married young and had children young. The story of Manasses and Sanballat is further weakened by the fact that it is not to be found in extant Samaritan traditions although these mention Alexander.

It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that Josephus is mistaken in placing the Samaritan schism *c.* 330 B.C. rather than *c.* 430 as Scripture indicates. This conclusion does not, however, apply to the date of the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which may have been in the 4th century B.C. It is not unlikely that for a good many years after the serious break *c.* 430 B.C. the Samaritans for one reason or another refrained from building a temple of their own, possibly because they continued to hope that one day they would secure at least partial control of the temple at Jerusalem.

The problem remains why Josephus or his immediate—as opposed to his ultimate—source brought Sanballat into connexion with Alexander the Great. If the immediate source of Josephus's Sanballat narrative is Alexander Polyhistor, as Hölscher supposes (*PW* art. Josephus), it is possible that the latter took over a Samaritan story which glorified the temple on Mount Gerizim by attributing its founding to the favour of Alexander the Great. Büchler, who has made an analysis of the composition of the latter part of *Ant.* xi., which is adopted by Tscherikower, also believes that the Manasses-Sanballat story is of Samaritan origin, while the story of Jaddua's meeting with Alexander and the references to Persian and Macedonian history are from different sources of Jewish origin, combined with the Sanballat story by

Josephus's immediate source with the purpose of countering the Samaritan claims by showing that Alexander favoured the Jews over against the Samaritans It is true that there are certain inconsistencies in Josephus's narrative which seem to support Buchler's differentiation of Samaritan and Jewish sources , for example, as Tscherikower points out, from one passage (§§ 322 ff.) it appears that Sanballat received permission from Alexander to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, while from another (§ 342) one gathers that the Samaritan temple had been in existence for some time before Alexander's coming ; again, in § 343 Alexander is represented as being in ignorance of who the Samaritans may be, while in an earlier passage, § 321, it is said that Sanballat sent soldiers to help Alexander besiege Tyre Motzo, however, argues that all of *Ant.* xi. and xii. and part of xiii. are taken from a single anti-Samaritan source glorifying the temple and priesthood of Jerusalem in opposition to those of Samaria and Leontopolis, which book Motzo believes was composed between 100 and 63 B C. I strongly doubt whether Motzo is right in holding that Josephus has made use of such a single comprehensive source in *Ant* xi -xiii instead of consulting the biblical and apocryphal books, 1 Esdras, Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, etc , directly ; as I have tried to point out in the notes, Josephus consulted Scripture whenever he could make use of it for his historical narrative It is puzzling, to be sure, that in § 174 he fails to mention Sanballat as one of Nehemiah's adversaries and that he almost ignores the contents of Neh. chs v., vii -xiii But it may be that having a tradition about a Sanballat who lived in the time of Darius III and Alexander and played a

part similar to that ascribed to Nehemiah's adversary, he took the simplest way out of the chronological difficulty by omitting the Sanballat story as told in the book of Nehemiah To this procedure there is a parallel in his unobtrusive correction of the chronology of the Persian kings in Ezra-Nehemiah, to which attention has been called in the notes (§ 21 note *b*, § 88 note *a*, § 97 note *d*) There are also several passages where Josephus's narrative of Ezra amplifies or alters the text of 1 Esdras to get in an extra dig at the Samaritans, but in view of his earlier references to the objectionable Samaritans (*cf Ant* ix. 288 ff), I see no reason to suppose that it was Josephus's "anti-Samaritan source" rather than Josephus himself who combined these later traditions with Scripture. The question of the source of the story of Alexander and Jaddua is further discussed in Appendix C

APPENDIX C

Alexander the Great and the Jews

(*Ant.* xi. 317-345)

Selected literature :

Abel, Père F., " Alexandre le Grand en Syrie et en Palestine," *RB* xliii, 1934, pp. 528-545; xliv, 1935, pp. 42-61.

Abrahams, I., *Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great* (Schweich Lectures). 1927.

Büchler, A., " La Relation de Josèphe concernant Alexandre le Grand," *REJ* xxxvi, 1898, pp. 1-26.

Derenbourg, J., *Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds, etc.* Pt. I (all published). 1867.

Lévi, I., " La Légende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch," *REJ* vii, 1883, pp. 78-93.

" La Dispute entre les Égyptiens et les Juifs," *REJ* lxiii, 1912, pp. 211-215.

Lichtenstein, H., " Die Fastenrolle," *HUCA* viii-x, 1931–32, pp. 257-351.

Niese, B., *GGMS* vol. i, 1893, pp. 81-88.

Pfister, F., " Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias, mit einem Anhang über Alexanders Besuch in Jerusalem." *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Phil.-hist. Klasse B. v, 1914, Abt. 11.

Radet, G., *Alexandre le Grand* 1931 (ch. xi, pp. 130-136)
Schurer, E., *Geschichte des judischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. i (4th ed.), 1901, pp. 180 ff.
Spak, I., *Der Bericht des Josephus uber Alexander den Grossen.* 1911.
Tarn, W. W., *CAH* vi, ch. xii.
Tscherikower, A., *Jews and Greeks* (in Hebrew) 1930.
Willrich, H., *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabaischen Erhebung* 1895 (ch. i)

There are several passages in Josephus which deal with the civic rights supposedly conferred by Alexander the Great on the Jews in Alexandria, but these will be considered in an appendix devoted to that subject in the last volume of this translation. Here we are concerned with the historicity and sources of the story in *Ant.* xi. 317 ff. which tells of Alexander's meeting with the Jews of Jerusalem and of his favourable treatment of them in contrast with his negative attitude toward the Samaritans.

Before critically examining Josephus's narrative, however, we may consider the ancient parallels to this section. One of these is found in Recension C of the Greek Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes. This work is a collection of legends inserted in a largely historical narrative drawn from literary sources. Recension C of this Romance contains a number of additions to the story of Alexander's adventures which were obviously made by Hellenistic Jewish writers, as Pfister has shown from resemblances of style to the Septuagint; the purpose of these Jewish interpolations was to support the claims of Alexandrian Jews to equality of civic rights by representing the

great Macedonian conqueror as a friend of the Jews and a worshipper of the Jewish God These Jewish additions to Pseudo-Callisthenes are plausibly dated by Pfister in the first century A.D , thus they are earlier than the recension edited by W Kroll (*Historia Alexandria Magni*, 1926) as the *recensio vetusta*, if he is right in dating the latter *c* A D *300*. The passage in question reads as follows, according to the text of C Muller (Paris, 1877), Pseudo-Callisthenes ii 24. " Alexander conquered the country of the Jews, and these, wishing to resist him, sent out spies in the guise of envoys. But this stratagem did not deceive Alexander He therefore commanded some of the very bravest young men of the Macedonian phalanx to hurl themselves into a nearby ravine , and they conscientiously carried out his command, for the Macedonian troops were very prompt to obey Alexander's orders Then turning to the would-be spies, he said, ' You see, envoys of the Jewish nation, what a trifle death is considered by the Macedonian army Return therefore and do what is best for you For to-morrow I shall come to you and do what Providence may please.' So they returned to their rulers (ἄρχουσι) and said, ' We must submit to Alexander and so save ourselves We have no other hope of safety, for the Macedonian army has a power more than human. While death seems terrible to us, it does not seem so at all to the Macedonians, but, on the contrary, something to be held in great contempt We perceive that they have so great a love of death that one might say they meet it as though it were an everyday matter. The Macedonian youths amazed us by throwing themselves into the great ravine as though diving into the sea. And no sooner did Alexander

order them to do this than they carried out his order. It was not so much their daring in the face of death that astonished us as the fact that they did not expect any profit therefrom, so readily did they volunteer to die. Now if they were to hope for any profit therefrom, no one could resist them. But do what you think best before Alexander conquers us and all our plans are made ineffective and doubtful.' When their rulers heard this, they decided to submit to Alexander, and so their priests put on their priestly robes and went out to meet Alexander with all their host. When Alexander saw them, he was awed by their appearance and told them not to come any nearer to him but to remain in the city. Then he summoned one of the priests and said to him, 'How divine is your appearance! Tell me, I pray, what god you worship. For I have never seen so seemly an array of priests among those of our gods.' The priest then said, 'We serve one God who created heaven and earth and all things in them. But no man is able to tell His name (*αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι*).' Thereupon Alexander said, 'As servants of the true God go in peace, go. For your God shall be my God. And I will make peace with you and will not invade your country as I have done those of other nations, because you have served a living God.' Then the Jews took an abundance of money in gold and silver and brought it to Alexander. But he refused to take it, saying, 'Let this, together with the sum set apart by me, be tribute to the Lord God. But I will not take anything from you.'"

The legendary character of this narrative is so obvious as to require no comment. It may be of interest, however, to quote Pfister's comments on the relation of this Jewish interpolation in Pseudo-Calli-

sthenes to another passage of similar origin which represents Alexander as becoming a worshipper of the Jewish God at the time of his founding Alexandria. "Above we saw that the Jewish κτίσις Ἀλεξανδρείας, which we have considered, was composed on the analogy of other ancient foundation-stories which are found in the Romance, and in particular that the introduction of the Yahweh-cult has its counterpart in the founding of the Serapis-cult at Alexandria by Alexander. Furthermore we saw that the Jeremiah-episode [in which Alexander brings the bones of the prophet Jeremiah to Alexandria] also corresponds to an ancient story. Now the founding of Alexandria and especially the establishment of the Serapis-cult are motivated by Alexander's visit to the temple of Ammon and the oracle of this god. According to the Jewish tradition the founding of the city is preceded by the story of the king's visit to Jerusalem and his becoming a follower of the Jewish religion. And just as the Jewish κτίσις is conceived after the pattern of the ancient [pagan] one, so the legend of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is formed on the tradition of his journey to the oasis of Ammon."

The other parallel to Josephus's story of Alexander and the Jews of Jerusalem is found in rabbinic literature. Here it may be parenthetically remarked that there are about a dozen more Alexander-stories in the Talmuds and Midrashim (homiletic commentaries on Scripture) but they are obviously folk-legends; most of them are probably derived from accretions to the popular version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the interested reader will find an account of them in the first of the articles by Lévi cited in the bibliography above. The rabbinic story which here concerns us is found in the

scholion to the early rabbinic work *Megillath Ta'anith*, which is a list of days on which fasting is forbidden, in celebration of some joyful event The scholion (also found with slight variants in Bab Talmud *Yoma* 69 a) comes under the date of the 21st day of Kislew, " the day of Gerizim," and reads as follows in Lichtenstein's text "This is the day when the Cuthim (Samaritans) asked Alexander of Macedon (for permission to destroy) our temple, saying to him, ' Give us five *kurs* of land on Mount Moriah ' These he gave to them. But when they came, the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out and beat them off with sticks. They then informed Simon the Just of this. He thereupon put on his priestly garments and wrapped himself in his priestly garments (*sic*) and went out, accompanied by the nobles of Jerusalem and a thousand counsellors (*bouleutai*) dressed in white and young priests who made the sacred instruments resound As they marched through the hills. the Macedonians saw their lighted torches, and when the king asked what this meant, the informers replied, ' These are the Jews who have rebelled against you.' When they arrived at Antipatris, the sun was shining, and when they came to the first station, the Macedonians asked them, ' Who are you ? ' The Jews replied, ' We are the people of Jerusalem, who have come to greet the king.' But when Alexander of Macedon saw Simon the Just, he descended from his chariot and prostrated himself before him Thereupon his men exclaimed, ' Do you prostrate yourself before this man who is only a mortal ? ' And he replied, ' I see his image whenever I go to war and am victorious.' Then the king asked him, ' What do you wish ? ' The priest replied, ' The gentiles have deceived you concerning

the temple in which we pray for the welfare of your reign, and you have given it to them ' The king then asked, ' Who deceived me ? ' Simon answered, ' It was these Cuthim, who stand before you ' Thereupon Alexander said, ' They are herewith given into your hands ' The Jews then pierced the heels of the Cuthim and tied them to the tails of their horses and dragged them over thorns and briers until they came to Mount Gerizim. And when they came to Mount Gerizim, they ploughed it under and sowed it with vetch, just as the Cuthim had intended to do to our temple And the day on which they did this was made a festival "

Several anachronistic details in this story call for brief comment. The high priest who meets Alexander is not Jaddua, as in Josephus's narrative, but Simon the Just, who held this office *c* 200 B C , more than a century after Alexander's death (see Appendix B in Vol. VII) Next, the name of the city where Alexander meets the Jews is Antipatris, although this name was first given to the place in question (Kephar Saba, *cf* § 329 note *b*) by Herod the Great Josephus gives Saphein (Mt Scopus outside of Jerusalem) as the name of the meeting-place Possibly, as we have noted, the author of the rabbinic version confused Saphein with Saba, and then the latter name was replaced by the Herodian name familiar to the later Jews Or it may be that Josephus himself mistook Saba for Saphein In any case, either site is geographically suitable, as we shall see below The third anachronism is the reference to the ploughing under of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim which actually took place *c* 110 B C in the last years of the reign of John Hyrcanus (*cf. Ant* xiii 281 = *B J*

i 65; this event seems to be referred to in another passage of *Megillath Ta'anith* under the date of the 25th day of Marheshwan). Finally we may note Spak's suggestion that the curious punishment administered by the Jews to the Samaritans has some connexion with the torture inflicted by Alexander on Batis, the Persian governor of Gaza (*cf.* § 320), according to Qu Curtius iv 6 " per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi "

A second rabbinic story is of slight importance in this connexion but is here reproduced because it tells of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and also mentions the Samaritans This story appears in the scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith* under the date of the 25th day of Siwan when " the *demosionai* (tax-collectors ?) were removed from Judah and Jerusalem " The Aramaic rubric itself, which probably refers to an incident in the Roman period, does not here concern us As for the provenance of the Hebrew scholion, Lévi is probably right in supposing that it derives from the apologetic literature of the Jews in Alexandria, to which we shall return below. The first part of the scholion, omitted here, relates to the controversies between the Jews on one hand and the Canaanites, Ishmaelites and Egyptians on the other concerning the Jews' right to Palestine and to the property taken by them from the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus; Alexander the Great is represented as the judge in these disputes In each controversy the legendary Gebiha ben Pesisa, who appears as the spokesman of the Jews, confounds his gentile opponents by cleverly applying a scriptural verse to the matter in dispute The last part of the scholion, which is here translated,

is not found in MS Parma of *Megillath Taʿanith* or in the parallel passage, Bab Talmud *Sanhedrin* 91 a; it is, however, found (with slight variants) in the Midrash, *Bereshith Rabba* xli 6 The text, as edited by Lichtenstein, reads as follows "Alexander of Macedon sought to go up to Jerusalem But the Cuthim (Samaritans) said to him, 'The nobles of Judah will not allow you to enter their Holy of Holies because you are uncircumcised (*i e* a gentile)' What did Gebiha ben Pesisa (*Bereshith Rabba*: Gebiʿa ben Qosem = "Hunchback, son of Sorcerer") do? He made two slippers of gold (thread) and placed on them two precious stones worth fifty thousand *manehs* of silver, and when Alexander came to the temple mount, Gebiha said to him, 'My lord king, take off your shoes and let me put these slippers on your feet, for the pavement is slippery' But when Alexander came to the Holy of Holies, Gebiha said to him, 'Here it is forbidden to enter' Then Alexander said, 'I will enter, and when I come out, I will straighten your hump (*gebihah*)' And Gebiha said to him, 'If you do so, you shall be called a skilled physician and receive a great reward.' And they say that they did not move from there until a serpent bit him (Alexander) And the sages said to him (Gebiha), 'Concerning you it is written (Prov xxiii. 25), *Thy father and mother shall be glad, and she who bore thee shall rejoice*, and it is written (Prov. xxvii 11), *My son, be wise and make my heart glad, that I may answer him that reproacheth me*'"

From these Jewish legends we must turn to the accounts of Alexander's conquests in Syria and Palestine during the years 332–331 B C given by the Greek and Roman historians, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Justinus and, in fragmen-

tary form, by later Christian writers such as Eusebius, Jerome and Syncellus

After his victory over Darius at the battle of Issus in Cilicia in October 333 B.C., which was followed by Darius's flight and the capture of the women of his family, Alexander proceeded down the coast of Syria and Phoenicia to Marathus From here he sent Parmenion to take Damascus ; here too he received letters from Darius asking for the release of the royal Persian family and proposing an alliance, which Alexander refused except on his own terms From Marathus Alexander went to Byblus and Sidon, both of which cities readily received him A Tyrian delegation also offered to submit to the Macedonians but refused to admit Alexander to their city in order that he might sacrifice to Heracles-Melkart Alexander therefore prepared to attack Tyre ; this was in December 333 B.C. After a seven months' siege by sea, in which the Phoenician ships took a prominent part, he forced the city to surrender, in July 332 B.C. During the siege he made a brief excursion against the Arabs of the Anti-Lebanon district ; it was about this time too that all of Palestine submitted to him according to Arrian ii 25. 4 καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη. Père Abel suggests that during the siege of Tyre Alexander sent his soldiers into the interior of Palestine as far as Jericho, referring to a passage in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xii. 25. 117, describing the balsam plantations of Jericho, "Alexandro Magno res ibi gerente toto die aestivo unam concham impleri iustum erat," and also into Transjordan, on the basis of references in Byzantine sources to the founding of Hellenistic cities there by Alexander It is unlikely,

however, that the older sources would have passed these incidents over in silence if they were historical, and Willrich is probably right in dismissing these statements as unauthentic After the fall of Tyre Alexander determined to go to Egypt and left Parmenion to govern Syria and Palestine from Damascus How long Parmenion remained at Damascus is not clear , the references to him in Arrian are inconsistent in themselves and at variance with the statements of Curtius and Plutarch ; it is not certain how long before the spring of 331 B C he left for Thapsacus on the Euphrates where Alexander sent him to check the Persian satrap Mazaeus But it does seem fairly certain that during part of the time between the fall of Tyre in July 332 B C and Alexander's return from Egypt in the spring of 331 B C. Parmenion left Andromachus as prefect of Coele-Syria and that after the latter's death (on which see below) Menon succeeded to this office (Curtius iv 5, against Arrian ii 13. 7, which says that Menon was appointed to this office before Alexander besieged Tyre) From Tyre Alexander marched along the coast of Palestine unopposed until he came to Gaza in September 332 B C This city, which was under the command of the Persian governor Batis (on the name *cf* § 320 note), was strongly fortified, and Alexander was obliged to besiege it for two months before it surrendered Some time after the fall of Gaza Alexander set out for Egypt and reached Pelusium in seven days (Arrian iii 1 ; Plutarch, *Alex* xxvi , Diodorus xvii 49 , Curtius iv 7) No ancient source (except Josephus of course) mentions any march elsewhere at this particular time. Alexander remained in Egypt until the spring of 331 B.C , visiting among other places the

famous oracle of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah. (Perhaps it is not altogether fanciful to see in the account of his visit to this temple given by Diodorus, xvii 50-51, a resemblance to the story of Alexander's meeting with the Jewish priests in Josephus and *Megillath Ta'anith*; but the resemblance is so slight that it hardly deserves more than passing mention) From Egypt Alexander returned to Tyre, where he appointed various officials to govern the conquered territories in Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia; no incident between his departure from Memphis and his arrival in Tyre is mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus or Plutarch According to Curtius, however, it was during his absence in Egypt that the Samaritans rose against Andromachus, the prefect of Coele-Syria, and burned him alive, and on his return from Egypt Alexander punished the rebellious Samaritan leaders To this story the late writers Eusebius, Jerome and Syncellus add that Alexander took Samaria and settled Macedonians in the city This incident has, of course, some bearing on Josephus's account of Alexander's relations with the Jews and Samaritans, and it is worth while to quote the sources mentioned. Curtius, iv 8. 9, writes. "Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi quem praefecerat Syriae. Vivum Samaritae cremaverunt Ad cuius interitum vindicandum quanta maxima celeritate potuit contendit, advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores Andromacho deinde Memnona substituit, affectis supplicio qui praetorem interemerant" The Armenian text of Eusebius's *Chronicon*, ii 223 ed. Aucher (=ii 114 ed Schoene), has "Alexander besieged Tyre and conquered Judaea, and being received with honour, he sacrificed to God and honoured

the high priest (*k'ahanayapet*), and as governor (lit. "overseer," *tesouč*) of the district he appointed Andromachus, whom the inhabitants of the city of the Samaritans killed; and on his return from Egypt Alexander punished them, and having taken the city, settled (*bnakecoyc*) Macedonians therein", similarly Jerome, "urbem captam Macedonibus ad inhabitandum tradit," and Syncellus, p. 496 ed. Bonn, τὴν Σαμάρειαν πόλιν ἑλὼν Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδόνας ἐν αὐτῇ κατῴκισεν. However in another passage of Eusebius's *Chronicon*, ii. 229 ed. Aucher (= ii. 118 ed. Schoene), we read that in Olympiad 121 (296/5 B.C.) "Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Asia, captured all of the Samaritan city which had been settled (*bnakeçouçeal*) by Perdiccas" (here Jerome has, "urbem vastat quam Perdicca ante construxerat"). From this passage Willrich infers that it was Perdiccas and not Alexander who originally settled the Macedonians in Samaria; against him Spak argues that Alexander himself settled the Macedonians in the city, while Perdiccas later built the city into a fortress, adding in a note, "So kann nur *construere* ubersetzt werden; *constructam* (Eusebius nach Petermann und Aucher), *construxerat* (nach Hieronymus) ist doch ganz etwas anderes als κατῴκισεν (nach Syncellus) und *collocavit* (Eusebius nach Aucher und Petermann)." Unfortunately Spak has been misled by the modern Latin translations of Eusebius's Armenian text. In both passages the verb *bnakeçouçanem* is used, meaning "to cause to inhabit"; it is used in the Armenian Bible to translate κατοικίζειν. There is, therefore, a contradiction between the two passages in Eusebius; in one he says that Alexander settled the Macedonians in Samaria; in the other that Perdiccas did so. The

historicity of the former fact must therefore be judged on the basis of the statements of Curtius and Syncellus alone Now Syncellus is not a particularly trustworthy source for this period, while Curtius merely says that Alexander appointed Menon as prefect in place of Andromachus. We cannot be certain that Alexander was in Samaria for any length of time But we shall return to this point again

In the light of the information yielded by the sources cited above what opinion shall we hold of the historicity of Josephus's story of Alexander's meeting with the Jews and his favourable attitude toward them, apart from the obviously legendary details such as Alexander's dream of Jaddua at Dium and the reading of the book of Daniel? Of the scholars mentioned in the bibliography given above only Israel Abrahams argues that Josephus is correct in saying that Alexander visited Jerusalem after the fall of Gaza. He contends that the argument advanced by most scholars that there was no time for such a detour after Gaza fell is based on " a complete misreading of Arrian and the rest of the authorities. . . But Arrian tells us no such thing When he moved his army from Gaza to Egypt, Alexander's march was rapid, but he did not leave Gaza immediately on its fall On the contrary there was much to be done before he left the place, and there is nothing in Arrian or Curtius to imply that time failed for such an experience as Josephus describes " Abrahams is right in denying that the sources imply that Alexander left for Egypt immediately after the surrender of Gaza ; but he is hardly right in saying that " there is nothing in Arrian or Curtius to imply that time failed for such an experience as Josephus describes." It is true that

Alexander had certain things to attend to before he left for Egypt, such as the refounding of Gaza and the sending of Amyntas with triremes to Macedonia, but the sources plainly indicate that he delayed his march to Egypt only long enough to do what had to be done *on the spot*; he would hardly have gone out of his way to visit Jerusalem at this time, *cf.* Arrian iii. 1. 1 ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἵναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὡρμήθη ἐστέλλετο, and Curtius iv. 6 "regis qui Aegyptum adire festinans Amyntam cum decem triremibus in Macedoniam misit." Incidentally, the incense which Alexander sent to Leonidas, presumably from Gaza (but possibly earlier), according to Plutarch, *Alex.* xxv., may very well have been found there, since Gaza was the chief centre of export of eastern luxuries to the West during the Persian period. One point made by Abrahams, however, is well taken; he insists that Josephus is not guilty of a "howler" when he says that Alexander in coming from Gaza approached Jerusalem from the north. "What was probably the *normal* route was to advance up the familiar coast and to turn in eastwards from the neighbourhood of Jaffa." Nevertheless, in view of the clear implications of the ancient authorities, we may safely conclude that Alexander probably did not visit Jerusalem after the fall of Gaza and before his journey to Egypt.

The question remains whether Alexander may have had personal dealings with the Jews at some other time, presumably on his return from Egypt in the spring of 331 B.C. when he learned of the Samaritan uprising. Such a theory is proposed by Spak, who reconstructs the course of events as follows. On leaving Egypt Alexander made for Samaria to crush the rebellion which was the first serious opposition

encountered in these parts by the Macedonians On his way he heard about the Jews and went to Jerusalem from Gaza (his second visit to Gaza, not his first, as Josephus has it) His anger was directed, not against the Jews for their refusal to help him during the siege of Tyre, but against the leaders of the Samaritan rebellion , his settlement of 8000 Samaritan soldiers in Egypt had occurred earlier, and they were now forced to remain in Egypt Spak also supposes that it was on this occasion that Alexander presented to the Jews some of the Samaritan territory, as Josephus states, not in *Ant* xi , but in *Ap* ii 43, where he quotes Hecataeus to the effect that Alexander " in recognition of the consideration and loyalty shown to him by the Jews added to their territory the district of Samaria free of tribute " We do not know whether this statement actually comes from Hecataeus (*fl* early 3rd century B C) and is therefore presumably authentic or whether it is taken from a Hellenistic Jewish writer, the so-called Pseudo-Hecataeus, who invented the story for apologetic purposes Dr Thackeray writes in his note *ad loc* . " This statement (? of Pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism Three small districts of Samaria (not the whole country) were ceded to the Jews, free of tribute, by Demetrius II *c* 145 B C (1 Macc xi 34 ; *cf* x 30, 38) , but the language of 1 Macc suggests that Demetrius may have been confirming some concession of earlier date " Büchler's suggestion (see below) that the passage in *Ap.* ascribes to Alexander a privilege actually conferred by Julius Caesar seems to me more convincing than Spak's plea for its authenticity Somewhat similar to Spak's theory is that of Tscherikower, who, while he does not

believe that Alexander actually visited Jerusalem, thinks that he may have heard of the Samaritan uprising on his return from Egypt to Tyre and sent Perdiccas to suppress it (*cf* the passages from Curtius and Eusebius cited above), and that the Jews may have sent a small auxiliary force to help Perdiccas subdue the Samaritans, as a result of which friendly relations were established between them and Alexander The trouble with this theory is that Curtius states that it was Alexander himself who suppressed the Samaritan rebellion and makes it fairly clear that he did so without difficulty and without help from the natives of Palestine However it is not impossible that Spak and Tscherikower are right in supposing that Alexander may have had some personal dealings with the Jews (somewhere in Palestine) at the time of the Samaritan rebellion.

But as for Alexander's actual visit to Jerusalem, I believe that the balance of the evidence is against it, though I should hesitate to deny it as categorically as do Niese, Willrich, Tscherikower and others For in addition to the strong negative argument that the oldest Greek and Latin sources do not mention it (Eusebius's brief reference to the visit is of course based on Josephus), as we might reasonably expect them to do, in spite of the comparative unimportance of the Jews to the Greeks in the time of Alexander (which, by the way, is another reason for doubting that Alexander would have been interested in Jerusalem and its temple, *pace* Abrahams), we have the positive argument that the Hellenistic Jewish sources on which Josephus drew in this portion of his History may justly be suspected of having brought Alexander the Great into connexion with Jerusalem for apologetic pur-

poses We have seen that this was done by the interpolators of the Jewish stories in Pseudo-Callisthenes (*cf* Pfister) and by the authors of the Alexander stories in rabbinic literature (*cf.* Lévi) *A priori*, therefore, there is reason to suspect that Josephus's story of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his sacrificing in the temple is a legend originating in the apologetic literature of the Jews of Alexandria.

A final consideration remains—the date of the composition of the Alexander story which Josephus (or his immediate source) has combined with the Sanballat story Willrich supposes that it was composed after the visit of Marcus Agrippa to Jerusalem in the reign of Herod the Great, and that Agrippa's sacrificing in the temple at Jerusalem was the basis of the legend of Alexander's sacrificing in the temple, while Agrippa's favourable decisions concerning the civic rights of the Jews in Asia Minor and elsewhere were the basis of Alexander's legendary grant of privileges to the Jews of Media and Babylon Willrich further supposes that the allusions in Josephus to Alexander's dealings with the Samaritans are based on the events of A.D 52 (*Ant* xx 118 = *B J.* ii. 232); at this time the Jews were roused to violence by the murder of some Galilaeans on their way to Jerusalem by the Samaritans, and when the leaders of the Jews failed to get satisfaction from the procurator Cumanus, they appealed to the legate of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, as did the Samaritan leaders, at Tyre; Quadratus postponed his decision until he should have obtained more information about the affair in Judaea At first sight Willrich's explanation seems plausible, but there are serious objections to both parts of it So far as the Agrippa-Alexander

parallel is concerned, the resemblances between the two figures in their dealings with the Jews are rather slight, as Buchler has shown ; and as for the parallel between the Samaritan-Jewish quarrel in the time of Alexander and that of A.D. 52, it is most improbable that the authentic report of an event that occurred in Josephus's lifetime and was described in his earlier work the *Jewish War* should have been converted into an apologetic fiction and combined with older traditions about Jaddua and Alexander before Josephus wrote *Antiquities*.

More satisfying and probably correct on the whole is Buchler's theory of the composition of the Alexander story, which I believe is worth quoting at some length. In discussing the exemption from taxes during the sabbatical year allegedly granted by Alexander, and the historical parallel in *Ant.* xiv. 202 ff. in the time of Hyrcanus II and Julius Caesar, he writes: "Comme cette disposition ne fut renouvelée nulle part autant que nos sources permettent de le constater, on est porté à admettre que la conduite de César vis-à-vis les Juifs a inspiré l'idée des privilèges qu'aurait accordés Alexandre le Grand. Dans ce cas le grand-prêtre qui représentaît devant lui les Juifs serait Hyrcan II qui apparaît en effêt comme le représentant de tous les Juifs ; sous la désignation de Juifs de la Babylonie et de la Médie seraient compris tous les Juifs du dehors que visaient les rescrits de César, ceux de l'Ionie auxquels il garantit le libre exercice de leur religion (*Ant.* xiv. 10, 8 et 10, 20-24), aussi bien que ceux d'Égypte dont il confirma expressement les droits civiques à Alexandrie . . . La garantie de tous les droits du pontificat et du sacerdoce, accordée par César, garantie qui suppose la liberté de pratiquer la

religion, correspondrait a l'autorization donnée par Alexandre aux Juifs de Palestine d'observer librement les lois de leurs pères . . Il est donc clair que César a aussi tenu compte dans son ordonnance des fêtes des Juifs et que la lettre du roi Demetrius [1 Macc x 36], qui se refère à ce privilège, appartient à l'époque de César. Ceci admis il en resulte une autre conséquence pour fixer l'époque de cette particularité mentionnée par Josèphe (*C Ap* ii 4) qu'Alexandre le Grand en récompense de la vaillance et de la fidélité des Juifs exempte d'impôts le territoire de Samarie. On chercherait vainement dans toute l'histoire une occasion où se seraient révélées ces qualités des Juifs à moins d'admettre qu'ils les ont manifestées sous les yeux de ses fonctionnaires lorsqu'Andromaque, préfet de Syrie en Samarie, fut brûlé vif . ce qui est plus qu'invraisemblable Or, nous avons vu qu'effectivement César accorda au territoire samaritain l'exemption des impôts et que cette mesure fut provoquée par la fidélité et la vaillance des Juifs durant la campagne d'Égypte Il devient donc manifeste que par Alexandre il faut entendre César "

Less plausible but worthy of consideration is Buchler's explanation of how the Samaritan story came to be combined with the Alexander-Jaddua story in the Alexandrian source of Josephus's narrative. " Peut-être l'apparition des soldats du grand-prêtre [Hyrcanus II, in 47 B C] sur le territoire égyptien éveilla-t-elle l'intérêt de la population pour les Juifs et Jérusalem, et l'écrivain samaritain profita-t-il de ces dispositions favorables pour placer sur premier plan le temple de Sichem "

In conclusion I cannot do better perhaps than to quote Buchler's admirable summary of his findings

concerning the composition of Josephus's narrative in *Ant.* xi. 302 ff "La relation de Josèphe sur le séjour d'Alexandre en Palestine et ses rapports avec les Samaritains et les Juifs est composée de trois parties différentes, qui peuvent facilement être séparées l'une de l'autre, parce qu'elles sont, en grande partie, juxtaposées. Il en est deux qui sont d'origine juive, la troisième est samaritaine La première traitait des Samaritains, la seconde des Juifs, sans tenir compte de leurs voisins du même pays, la troisième est hostile aux Samaritains et rapporte avec une joie maligne le réfus qui fut opposé à ceux-ci par Alexandre La première relation juive est probablement une réponse à celle des Samaritains qui pour une raison quelconque voulaient montrer aux Alexandrins, en rattachant à l'histoire de Sanballat de la Bible des détails d'ailleurs exacts sur la lutte de Darius avec Alexandre, que le temple de Garizim devait son origine à Alexandre le Grand Le récit juif fut composé immédiatement après l'expédition de César en Égypte et attribue les nombreuses marques de bienveillance de ce prince à Alexandre ; il est donc sans valeur pour l'époque plus reculée Le récit samaritain et la seconde relation juive pourraient aussi être de cette époque On ne peut déterminer si l'assemblage a été fait par Josèphe ou s'il existait avant lui. En tout cas l'historien a ajouté beaucoup de détails concernant les expéditions d'Alexandre et les Samaritains Les renseignements qu'il donne nous permettent de jeter un regard sur les rapports entre les Juifs et les Samaritains en Égypte et sur le laboratoire littéraire des Judéo-hellénistes du milieu du 1er siècle avant l'ère chrétienne "

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